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**World War I Hero
Alvin York**



Western Photographs of J.E. Stimson
Nazi Saboteurs in America
The Young John Adams



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VOLUME XXI, NUMBER 7 NOVEMBER 1986



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Cover

"The Prisoner," painted by artist Harvey Dunn, illustrates a typical vignette from the American campaign in France during World War I. In October 1918, in an action that could hardly be described as typical, an American corporal captured more than one hundred Germans after killing twenty-five others; a profile of Tennessee marksman Alvin York appears on pages 40-41.

American History Illustrated (ISSN 0002-8770), is published monthly except July and August by Historical Times, Inc., 2245 Kohn Road, P.O. Box 8200, Harrisburg, PA 17105-8200. Subscriptions: \$18.00 a year. In Canada and all other countries, \$23.00. Second Class postage paid at Harrisburg, PA 17105 and at additional mailing offices. Printed by World Color Press, Effingham, IL. American History Illustrated is affiliated with the National Historical Society. NHS is a subsidiary of HTI, which incorporates *British Heritage*, *Civil War Times Illustrated*, *Country Journal*, *Early American Life*, *Fly Fisherman*, *Opus*, *The New England Skiers' Guide*, *The Original New England Guide*, Museum Editions, Ltd., and *Historical Times Travel*. All rights reserved. Permission to reproduce the issue or portions thereof must be secured in writing from the editor. Address inquiries to *American History Illustrated*, Box 8200, Harrisburg, PA (717-657-9555). This magazine accepts no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts not accompanied by return postage. Copyright 1986 Historical Times, Inc. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *American History Illustrated*, P.O. Box 1776, Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

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Royal 42nd, Not 40th

I read with interest your recent excellent article "Germantown" by Jeffry D. Wert [September issue].

Mr. Wert on two occasions mentions the actions of Britain's "Fortieth" Regiment. There was no such regiment here during the War of Independence. However, the 42nd, the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) saw a great amount of action at Germantown and in fact defended the Chew mansion.

In 1976, I was a guest at Cliveden when Major Paul Sugden, on tour with the Band of the Black Watch, represented the regiment in a special evening reception at the mansion. A special toast was given citing the role of the Black Watch in defense of the Chew House and our subsequent friendly relations with this most famous Highland regiment.

Captain Kenneth R. Force (USMS) U.S. Merchant Marine Academy Kings Point, New York

Which Flag Flew?

Concerning the recent letter "Flag Over the Alamo" [September issue], I thought I'd never do this but the Honorable Reverend Daughters is somewhat mistaken in his description of the Alamo defenders and their flag. Being a student of Texas history and an Alamo enthusiast I'd like to set your readers straight concerning this. The men in the Alamo were fighting for only one thing—complete independence from Mexico. By the time of the Revolution everyone in Texas from Stephen Austin down realized that the government under Santa Anna would never revert back to the Constitution of 1824. With that they decided to fight for a separate and independent republic of their own. Saying they were "conservatives" would be incorrect. One of the biggest "radicals" of the Texas cause was inside the Alamo—Lt. Col. William Travis.

The Mexicans who sided with the Texans considered themselves "Tejano," citizens of the fledgling republic and *not* just citizens of Mexico. By doing this they put a price on their heads. They knew this and accepted their fate.

When Stephen F. Austin was released from a Mexican jail in 1835 and returned to Texas, *anyone* considered conservative realized the rev-

olution was the only way to gain back their personal freedoms and liberties.

As far as the Alamo flag, well there is no proof that a Mexican tricolor with an 1824 *was* the flag flying over the Alamo.

The *only* flag taken after the battle was the small blue colored flag of the "New Orleans Group," an all-volunteer unit present at the Alamo.

There are several documents and descriptions but presently there is no real proof the defenders of the Alamo flew this flag. Thank you for an excellent magazine. Keep up the good work.

Richard H. Crawford
Waterford, Ohio

Pro-Nazi Police

As a fervent reader of *American History Illustrated* and enjoying every minute of it, I wish to comment on a very fine article by Susan Canedy Clark that appeared in your April 1986 issue.

The article on the American Nazis, and the "Bund" that was to be a stepping stone to power for Fritz Kuhn, was for me reliving the past, but there was one point that the article failed to mention and that is, that many of the N.Y. Police force had joined the "Bund," as well as members of other law enforcement agencies, and that when called upon to investigate the "Bund" these characters laughed up their sleeves.

Henry P. Stevens
New Rochelle, New York

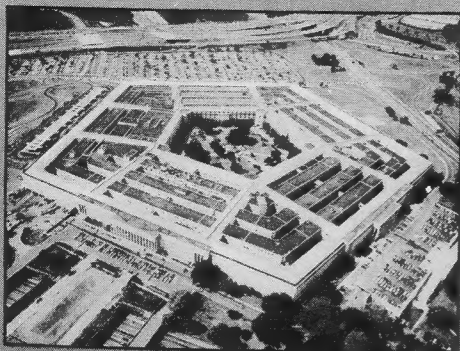
By Any Other Name

It is obvious after reading your June 1986 article, "Mr. Sears & Mr. Roebuck," that neither Brian McGinty nor Noah Webster has ever been to Indiana. A native of this great state is not an Indian. Mr. Roebuck was a Hoosier.

Kathleen A. Baker
North Manchester, Indiana

American History Illustrated welcomes comments from our readers. While we endeavor to publish a representative sampling of this correspondence, we regret that limited space prevents us from printing every letter. Address correspondence to The Mailbox, American History Illustrated, Box 8200, Harrisburg, PA 17105.

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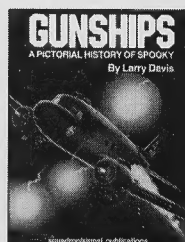


Why the American Military Doesn't Win

RICHARD A. GABRIEL



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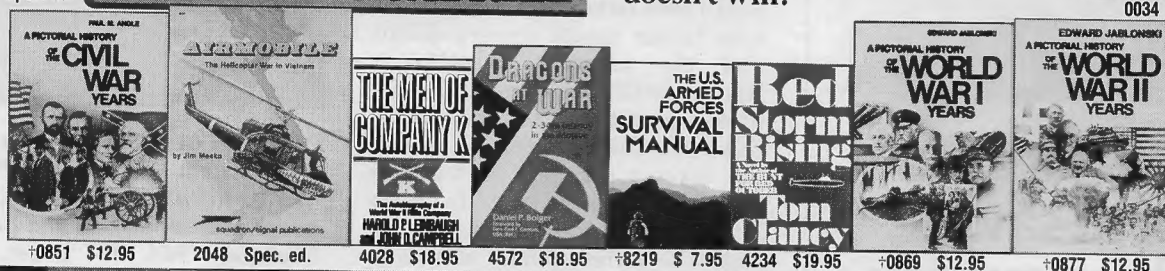
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Our worst enemy?

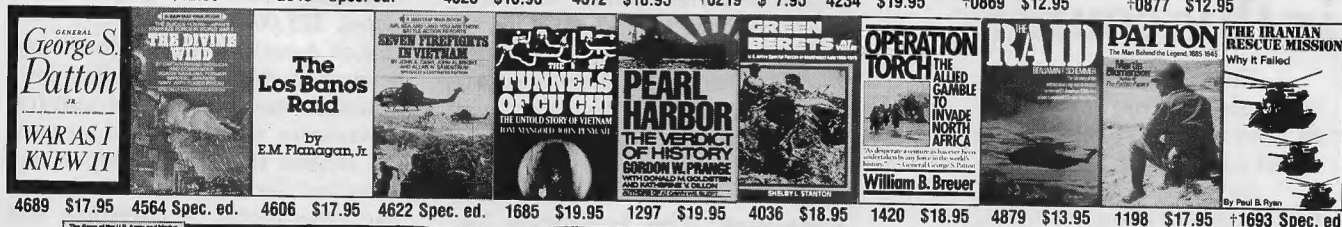
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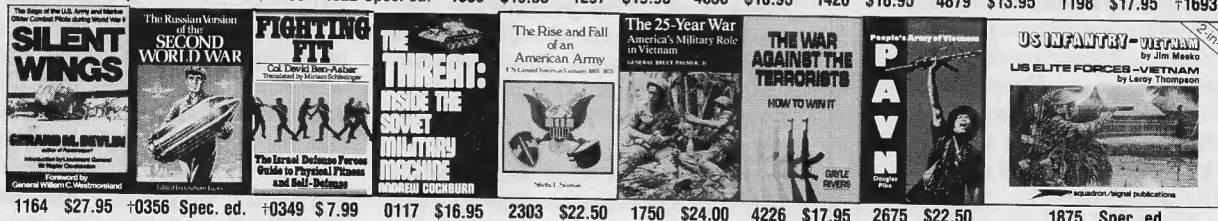
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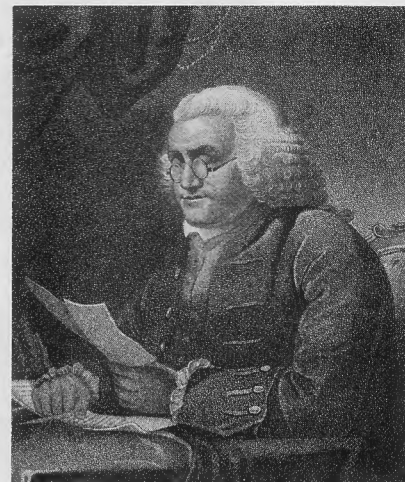
Preservation builds the nation

Those Days: An American Album by Richard Critchfield (*Anchor Press/Doubleday, New York, 1986; 419 pages, illustrated, \$19.95*). Acclaimed author Richard Critchfield has created what one reviewer called "a beautiful American version of the Fall" in this meticulously detailed account of his own family's history, using his mother, Anna Louise (Williams), as the central character. Rich in detail with extracts from family letters, diaries, newspaper clippings, and interviews, *Those Days* recreates an era when middle America was in transition from a basically rural society to one depending increasingly on advancing technology. In addition to Anna Louise, a school teacher who with true pioneer spirit set out for adventure on the North Dakota prairie, two other key figures in the story are Critchfield's own father, Jim, a North Dakota farmer turned country doctor, and his paternal grandfather Hadwen Williams, a country doctor turned preacher. The story begins with Anna Louise's wedding to Jim, but takes a dip back in time, as Critchfield points out, to Anna Louise's "New England Quaker origins. The earliest family records to escape mildew, vermin and time are a few yellowing receipts dated 1765." What he develops is Americana at its best, in a true story with the flavor of a well-written historical novel.

Icebound: The Jeannette Expedition's Quest for the North Pole by Leonard F. Guttridge (*Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, Maryland, 1986; 296 pages, illustrated, \$23.95*).

In July 1879 the USS *Jeannette* set sail from San Francisco Bay for Arctic waters in an attempt to reach the North Pole via the Bering Strait. The ship spent the next two winters trapped in ice, only to be eventually crushed, forcing her crew into three boats in a desperate race for survival. In an ordeal unmatched in the annals of polar exploration, one boat was lost at sea and the crew of the second died of starvation, and only thirteen of the expedition's personnel survived to return to America by way of Siberia. The *Jeannette's* commander, Navy Lieutenant George De Long, was among those lost. How and why the expedition

failed remained a mystery for years, the result of an official cover-up. In this carefully researched book, Leonard F. Guttridge reveals the full tragic story of not only the doomed expedition's travails but also the congressional investigations that followed. The narrative is complemented by period photographs.



Franklin of Philadelphia by Esmond Wright (*The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England, 1986; 404 pages, illustrated, \$25.00*).

One of America's most colorful and beloved founding fathers, Benjamin Franklin was a leader in cultural movements, a scientist and inventor (he created the Franklin stove and identified electricity with his famous kite experiment), a statesman and diplomat, and a writer and philosopher. Franklin rose from poverty to wealth and distinction, and his life was the embodiment of the American vision. English scholar Esmond Wright has tackled the almost limitless wealth of primary material on Franklin in an attempt to present a new, fully rounded portrait of this remarkable American. Wright points out that Franklin poses special challenges for any writer: not only has his career been studied and chronicled exhaustively, but Franklin wrote about his own life and times more succinctly than could any subsequent biographer. Wright's own work is comprehensive and readable and provides a worthy and timely contribution to the body of Franklin lore as interest begins to focus once again on our founding fathers and the bicentennial of the Constitution.

Alcatraz: The Story Behind the Scenery by James P. Delgado (*K.C. Publications, Las Vegas, 1985; 48 pages, illustrated, paperback, \$3.75*).

This large-format, full-color pictorial provides an entertaining and informative history of the once-notorious island and prison in California's San Francisco Bay. Alcatraz, which was a federal penitentiary from 1934 until 1963, earlier served as a military prison for a number of years and, before that, a Civil War fort. Now administered by the National Park Service, the island is a popular Bay-area tourist attraction. This colorful paperback is one of a series of thirty-five "Story Behind the Scenery" pictorials of well-known park areas in the United States. Additional recent releases from the same publisher include a history of the National Park Service and pictorials on Fort Clatsop National Historic Site, Lincoln Park, and Rocky Mountain National Park.

The Life and Legend of Jay Gould by Maury Klein (*Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1986; 595 pages, illustrated, \$27.50*).

Few Americans have been viewed in a more sinister light than Jay Gould, legendary "robber baron" of the late nineteenth century. Yet, in this first new Gould biography in twenty-five years, history professor Maury Klein depicts the financier in a much less negative cast than did his predecessors. Years of research have led Klein to conclude that "the Gould of legend was created almost entirely by the press and perpetuated by later writers who relied on those earlier accounts without verifying or adding to them." There can be no doubt that Gould was a business genius who let nothing stand between him and success. Gould outsmarted his rivals and made deals with enemies when friends turned away from him. But what emerges from this portrait is a Jay Gould far more complex and adroit than his foes supposed. The brilliant entrepreneur, who built a rail and communications empire and became the most feared and followed power on Wall Street, was also a surprisingly devoted and sympathetic family man. Part of Gould's notoriety stemmed from his silence: "That so much of Gould's ledger-

main was cloaked in mystery only heightened its appeal and encouraged journalists to embellish their accounts in any manner they chose," explains Klein. While it is unlikely that firm adherents to the legend of Gould's vileness will be persuaded to change their opinions, it is probable that this new biography will shed a somewhat softer light on "the most hated man in America."

Ralph Ingersoll: A Biography by Roy Hoopes (*Atheneum, New York, 1985; 442 pages, illustrated, \$19.95*).

Few Americans have had a creative influence on more significant publishing ventures than did Ralph McAllister Ingersoll (1900-1985). Ingersoll was the first managing editor of *The New Yorker*, managing editor of *Fortune* during its formative years, played a pivotal role in the creation of *Life*, and—for a brief and glorious moment in the annals of journalistic history—was the creator and editor of *PM*, a brilliantly innovative and short-lived experiment in newspaper publishing that remains a legend even today. Roy Hoopes's perceptive and engrossing biography, completed with Ingersoll's cooperation just prior to his death, reveals that while the ambitious and volatile journalist was not always an admirable man, he was always interesting—as is this profile.

The Elegant Inn: The Fabulous Story of the Original Waldorf-Astoria, 1893-1929 by Albin Pasteur Dearing (*Lyle Stuart, Inc., Secaucus, New Jersey, 1986; 250 pages, illustrated, \$16.95*).

The famed Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City opened its doors to the Astors, Morgans, Vanderbilts, Carnegies, and Li Hung-Changs of turn-of-the-century high society from 1893 to 1929. Lavish playground for the rich and famous and standard-setter for excellence and social merit worldwide, the "elegant inn" hosted royalty from four continents. Dearing's account traces the complete history of the world's first luxury high-rise hotel in all its splendor, and period photographs and drawings complement the narrative, recalling an era of opulence that vanished when the original Astoria was demolished to make way for the Empire State Building. ★

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We the People 200

Philadelphia to be Focus of Year-Long Constitution Bicentennial Celebration

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the birthplace of the American Constitution, is about to become the focal point of a major bicentennial celebration commemorating the events leading to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and the creation of the world's most enduring government document. "We the People 200," a sixteen-month celebration expected to draw hundreds of thousands of visitors from America and around the world, will feature major exhibitions, visits by American and foreign dignitaries, historic re-enactments, and public ceremonies.

The bicentennial activities already commenced on September 17—the one hundred and ninety-ninth anniversary of the signing of the Constitution—when Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger presided over the opening of "Miracle at Philadelphia," the premier exhibition for the observance. Some highlights scheduled for "We the People 200" in Independence National Historical Park and elsewhere in Philadelphia include:

"Miracle at Philadelphia"

A major exhibition telling the story of the events leading to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, the convention itself, and the ratification process. The self-guiding, multi-media exhibition features original drafts of the Constitution,



personal letters of leading convention participants, and (on public view for the first time) Virginia delegate James Madison's journal of the Convention proceedings.

"A Promise of Permanency" opening in May 1987

Educational exhibit featuring interactive computer stations that will enable visitors to deliberate on key Constitutional cases.

Magna Carta opening May 1, 1987

Exhibition featuring one of the original Magna Carta documents, a precursor of the U.S. Constitution.

"All Roads Lead to Philadelphia" [May 23-31, 1987]

Parades, concerts, a colonial fair, and historic re-enactments. Official ceremonies on May 25 will honor

the two-hundredth anniversary of the convening of the Constitutional Convention.

Special Session of Congress [July 16, 1987]

Congress has been invited to convene in a special session in Philadelphia for the first time since 1800.

Festival of Nations

[June 1-September 17, 1987]

Sixteen-week series of bicentennial-related events, including historic re-enactments, period villages, cultural performances, and visits by tall ships.

Constitution Day

[September 17, 1987]

Public ceremonies involving the nation's leaders and representatives from around the world, marking the two-hundredth anniversary of the signing of the U.S. Constitution, and, in what is billed as the largest parade ever mounted, a recreation of the "Grand Federal Procession" staged in 1788.

Additional information about "We the People 200" and the year-long celebration is available from the Philadelphia Convention and Visitors Bureau, 1515 Market Street, Suite 2020, Philadelphia PA 19102, or call, toll-free, 1-800-523-2004, ext. 87. ★

Coming in the Next Issue:

The remarkable life and achievements of artist, inventor, political visionary, and renaissance man Robert Fulton;

The American adventures of the group made world-famous by the "Sound of Music"—the renowned Trapp Family Singers;

A look at the historical paintings of America's favorite illustrator—Norman Rockwell . . . and More.

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Due to demand, the Colonial Williamsburg properties are already sold out to the general public. However, we are able to present this special program to our readers. But, please be advised our space is limited, and make your reservation today to join our tour.

THURSDAY: Individual arrivals at Williamsburg. Our Historical Times hospitality booth will be set up at the Williamsburg Lodge. This evening attend a private film presented by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Followed by cocktails and dinner.

FRIDAY: Leisurely breakfast on your own. Gather at the Lodge for historical outline of the Restored Area, followed by a walking tour with Colonial guides. Continue touring after lunch. Visit the 19th century craft shops and Merchants Square for some holiday gift ideas! Dinner and evening entertainment in a colonial style at the Kings Arms Tavern.



SATURDAY: Breakfast at leisure. Today visit Carters Grove, one of America's great plantation homes. Return to Williamsburg and after lunch continue touring the Historic area. Visit the Governor's Palace, The Capitol, and the newly completed DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Gallery. Sherry Reception before this evening's dinner... a "Groaning Board". This grand event features the traditional Christmas menu which has been served to Williamsburg's visitors since colonial times. The evening is completed with authentic entertainment.

SUNDAY: After breakfast, we travel to Yorktown. Tour the Yorktown Victory Center. Also view the Battlefield and National Park. After lunch return to Williamsburg and prepare for this evening's events. The Grand Illumination is one of the town's most festive occasions. The entire town—homes, shops, taverns—all light up with bright candles at every window, while overhead a magnificent fireworks display. Return to the Lodge for our farewell banquet and festive revelries. Indulge in a bit of Wassail while enjoying the renowned Bottort Singers.

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The restless curiosity, enthusiasm, and wit of the youth who later became the “Atlas of American Independence” belies the dour image given this founding father today.

John Adams

A Portrait of the Patriot as a Young Man

by Paul Rosta

JOHN ADAMS HAD A HUNCH that history would shortchange him, and he was right. For forty years, Adams served his country as an advocate of independence (serving on the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence), delegate to the Continental Congress, first envoy to Great Britain (1785-88), vice president (1789-97), and president of the United States (1797-1801). His peers dubbed him the “Atlas” of American Independence. But if you measure the reputation of a hero by the number of monuments raised to him, or the cities named after him, or the coins struck in his honor, John Adams’s fame looms small next to that of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin. Although Adams would be the last statesman to fret about something as frivolous as an “image,” he deserves better than his most common depiction as the dour gentleman from Massachusetts.

If Adams’s name does not always arise in the same breath with the names of the mythical founding fathers, it may be because Adams was a more human and down-to-earth figure than some of them. Adams’s character was full of uniquely American contradictions. He spent long years in the courts of Europe, but he was also a Massachusetts farmer who favored chewing tobacco and plain talk. Though he was a brilliant lawyer, Adams was driven as much by passion as by intellect, and he worked himself to the point of nervous collapse in the service of his country. Though he lived his life in the rough-and-tumble of politics, Adams was an introspective and philosophical man who liked to take the long historical view of events. Born in the first half of the eighteenth century, Adams had a sensitivity to nature and an awareness of his own emotions that belonged to a nineteenth-century romantic. In his love of independence, Adams was most American of all.

Nowhere do Adams’s qualities emerge more clearly than in his youth. The struggles he set down in his diaries, letters, and autobiographies reveal the growth of the leader he became.

Young Adams played “as idle children do,” with kites, marbles, and hoops, and by “making and sailing boats and Ships upon the Ponds and Brooks.”



JOHN ADAMS'S AMERICAN ROOTS reached deep on both sides of his family. His great-great-grandfather, Henry Adams, came to Massachusetts from England in 1638. On his mother's side, John was descended from John Alden, a signer of the Mayflower Compact. John's mother, Susannah Boylston Adams, was a member of Massachusetts's prominent Boylston family. His devoted and good natured father, the senior John Adams, was a pillar of his community, serving Braintree, Massachusetts, as selectman, militia officer, and deacon. John Adams called his father “the honestest Man I even knew. In Wisdom, Piety, Benevolence, and Charity in proportion to his Education and Sphere of Life, I have never seen his Superiour.” John was born in Braintree on October 30, 1735 (October 19, old style), and was followed by his two younger brothers, Peter Boylston and Elihu.

John was lucky enough to grow up in a family that encouraged his education—sometimes against his will. His parents taught John to read before he went to school, but the boy was more disposed to romp around the Massachusetts countryside than to sit quietly at home with a book. Instead of studying, Adams later recalled, he spent his childhood “as idle Children do in making and sailing boats and Ships upon the Ponds and Brooks, in making and flying Kites, in driving hoops, playing marbles, playing Quoits, Wrestling, Swimming, Skaiting and above all in shooting, to which diversion I was addicted to a degree of Ardor which I know not that I ever felt for any other Business, Study or Amusement.”

To this list of pastimes, Adams might have added that he also found time to keep an eye on the girls. “I was of an amorous disposition,” he wrote in his autobiography, “and very early from ten or eleven Years of Age, was very fond of the Society of females. I had my favorites among the young Women and spent many of my Evenings in their Company and this disposition although controlled for seven Years after my Entrance into College returned and engaged me too much until after I was married.”

Adams hastened to add, a bit stiffly, that his fondness for girls never led him past the bounds of propriety:

“No Virgin or Matron ever had cause to blush at the sight of me, or to regret her Acquaintance with me.” Adams gave his parents credit for painting him such grim pictures of what his “amorous disposition” might lead to “that my natural temperament . . . was always overawed by my Principles and Sense of decorum.”

In addition to a fondness for girls, Adams very early showed his penchant for standing his ground. When he was fifteen or sixteen, he visited his uncle Joseph in New Hampshire. With his cousin, Ebenezer Adams, John took a side trip and stopped in at the home of a Parson Whipple. The two Adamses stayed for dinner, during which John “was very bashful and silent.” Afterwards, the Parson and the two young men retired to another room, where the Parson “took a pipe himself and offered us pipes.” John had been smoking and chewing tobacco since he was a small boy, “and readily took one.” But the youth's pleasure in his pipe was dampened when the Parson's attractive wife walked into the room, took a look at him, and exclaimed, “I am astonished to see that pretty little boy with a pipe in his mouth smoking that nasty poisoned tobacco. I can't bear the sight.” Mrs. Whipple's graceless and condescending remark had the opposite effect than she intended. “I was as bashful and timorous as a girl,” Adams remembered, “but I resented so much being called a little boy at 15 or 16 years of age and as stout as her husband, that I determined not to be frightened out of my pipe so I continued to puff away.”

TO HIS FATHER'S DISMAY, John was just as stubborn about going to school. The senior Adams had his heart set on sending his eldest son to college, and it distressed him to see that John liked sports better than he did studying. One day John told his father that he “wished he would lay aside the thoughts of sending me to Colledge.”

“What would you do, child?” his father asked.

“Be a farmer,” John replied.

“A farmer?” said his father. “Well, I will show you

Recommended reading: John Adams by Page Smith (Doubleday, 1962).

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and very early from ten or eleven Years of Age, was very fond
of the Society of females.”**



what it is to be a farmer. You shall go with me to Penny Ferry tomorrow morning, and help me get thatch.”

“I shall be very glad to go, sir,” said John.

“Accordingly next morning he took me with him,” Adams recalled, “and with great good humour kept me all day with him at Work.”

After a long day of gathering thatch in the creek, John’s father asked him how he liked the work of a farmer. It had been hard and muddy, but John refused to admit that he was tired. “I like it very well, sir,” he replied.

“Aye,” said his father, “but I don’t like it so well, so you shall go to school today.”

“I went,” Adams wrote, “but was not so happy as among the Creek Thatch.”

When John was fourteen, he begged his father to let him quit school and work on the farm. His father asked what the trouble was, and John said, “Sir, I don’t like my schoolmaster. He is so negligent and so cross that I never can learn anything from him.” In his autobiography, Adams blamed his schoolmaster, Joseph Cleverly, for giving him “a disgust to Schools to books and to study” with his “inattention to his Schollars.” John promised that if he would attend the private school conducted by the Adams’s neighbor, Joseph Marsh, he would work hard to prepare for college. John’s father took care of the enrollment the next day, and John kept his part of the bargain.

After Adams had studied with Marsh for about a year and a half, his instructor pronounced him ready to take the entrance examinations for Harvard. (In those days, a young man usually started Harvard at the age of sixteen.) John was counting on Marsh’s company on the trip to Cambridge, but at the last minute his teacher cancelled, complaining of an indisposition. So on the day of the examination, which dawned gloomy and overcast, the boy started off alone for school. John was so “terrified at the Thought of introducing myself to such great Men as the President and fellows of a Colledge” that he wanted to turn around and go home. But realizing how displeased and disappointed his parents and tutor would be if he faltered, he summoned up the courage to continue on his way.

Marsh’s encouraging words had failed to reassure John that he was truly ready for the entrance examination, and the boy “suffered a very melancholly Journey” to Cambridge. Adams’s worst fears seemed to come true when Joseph Mayhew, the tutor of the freshman class, gave him a passage of English to translate into Latin. Reading over the material, John saw some English words for which he could not immediately recall Latin equivalents. John was already nervous, and when he saw those mysterious words he reacted like any other bright and high-strung student might have—he panicked. Seeing the terror in John’s eyes, Mayhew called him into his study and said, “There, child, is a dictionary, there is a grammar, and there paper, pen and ink, and you may take your own time.” John took heart, conquered the Latin, and was accepted into the Harvard class of 1755. “I was as light when I came home as I had been heavy when I went,” Adams recalled later. “My Master was well pleased and my Parents very happy.”

AT HARVARD, Adams took the traditional required courses: Latin, Greek, mathematics, physics, logic, rhetoric, metaphysics, and philosophy. Whether he was inspired by the faculty, the company of his fellow freshmen, or being away from home, John now studied with as much ardor as he had previously played in the Massachusetts countryside. Something clicked, and he experienced a “growing Curiosity, a Love of Books and a fondness for Study, which dissipated all my Inclination for Sports, and even for the Society of the Ladies.”

Although Adams later made his mark as a lawyer, statesman, and sage, his favorite subjects at Harvard were mathematics and science. He liked to solve equations for fun, and as an old man he fondly recalled climbing to the roof of a college building in the middle of the night to peer through a telescope at the rings of Saturn and the moons of Jupiter. Adams later wished he had paid more attention to the classics in college, because Greek and Latin were useful disciplines for an aspiring lawyer. But science and particularly mathematics gave Adams pleasure throughout his long life, appealing to his desire for order and certainty in a disorderly and uncertain world. Adams whiled away many happy

At Harvard, Adams experienced “a love of Books and a fondness for Study, which dissipated all my Inclinations for Sports, and even for . . . the Ladies.”



hours with problems in geometry and algebra. Later, as an ambassador to France, he tutored his son John Quincy in math “with a degree of pleasure that amply rewarded me for all of my time and pains.”

John’s father had sent him to Harvard in the hope that he would enter the ministry. But John Adams had a habit of going his own way, and he began to have other ideas. At some point during his second two years in college, John joined an informal club of students that met for dramatic readings. “I was as often requested to read as any other, especially Tragedies, and it was whispered to me and circulated among others that I had some faculty for public Speaking and that I should make a better lawyer than Divine. This last idea was easily embraced and understood by me. My Inclination soon fixed upon the Law.” A nasty theological dispute between the minister and parishoners of Braintree also helped push John away from the ministry and toward the law. The incident revealed to John “a Spirit of Dogmatism and Bigotry in Clergy and Laity” and convinced him that joining the ministry “would involve me in endless Altercations and make my Life miserable, without any prospect of doing any good to my fellow Men.” John must also have realized that his gift for argument and his logical mind suited a legal career.

THERE WERE NO LAW SCHOOLS in America in 1755, so to learn the profession Adams had to apprentice himself to an attorney. He thought that he might meet his expenses by keeping school and let it be known that he was available for hire as a schoolmaster. John gained some notice for his speaking at Harvard’s commencement exercises, and a representative from the town of Worcester hired him to teach in the town’s grammar school. John moved to Worcester soon after he graduated and stayed for three years.

Adams’s young charges must have often tried his patience. In a letter, the schoolmaster described his class as “A large number of little runtlings, just capable of lisping A B C, and troubling the master.” At other times, when he was in a good mood and allowed his mind to wander, he enjoyed his duties. While sitting at the head of the classroom, John sometimes imagined himself “as

some Dictator at the head of a commonwealth.” His classroom seemed to contain the world in miniature: “I have severall renowned Generalls but 3 feet high, and several deep-projecting Politicians in petticoats. I have others catching and dissecting Flies, accumulating remarkable pebbles, cockle shells &c., with as ardent Curiosity as any Virtuoso in the royal society. Some rattle and Thunder out, A, B, C, with as much Fire and impetuosity, as Alexander fought . . . At one Table sits Mr. Insipid foppling and fluttering, spinning his whirligig, or playing with his fingers as gaily and wittily as any frenchified coxcomb brandishes his Cane or rattles his snuff box. At another sits the polemical Divine, plodding and wrangling in his mind about Adam’s fall in which we sinned all as his primmer has it. In short my little school like the great World, is made up of Kings, Politicians, Divines, L.D. [LL.D.—doctor of laws], Fops, Buffoons, Fiddlers, Sycophants, Fools, Coxcombs, chimney sweepers, and every other Character drawn in History or seen in the World.”

Although Adams was already interested in law when he came to Worcester, he postponed making a commitment for a year while he mulled over his options. Meanwhile, he exercised his mind in the company of Worcester’s brightest and best-read men. Although he was barely twenty, John was welcome in the homes of such gentlemen as Ephraim Doolittle and Nathan Baldwin, “who were great readers of Deistical Books, and very great Talkers.” The conversations ranged through history, philosophy, science, and religion, and John often made notes in his diary about the topics of discussion. In his diary entry for March 14, 1756, John remarked, “Spent the Evening, very sociably at Mr. Putnams. Several observations concerning Mr. Franklin of Philadelphia, a prodigious Genius cultivated with prodigious industry.”

The conversations with the men of Worcester must have helped to spark the running conversation Adams held with himself in his diary. He ruminated at length about science, literature, religion, and nearly everything in between. But he also confessed to his diary that these stimulating conversations brought out the worst in him. “When in Company with persons much superiour to

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myself in Years and Place,” he wrote, “I have talked to shew my Learning. I have been too bold with great men, which boldness will no doubt be called Self Conceit. I have made ill natured Remarks upon the Intellectuals, manners, Practice &c of other People.” Vanity, he declared, was his “cardinal Vice and cardinal Folly.” The tone of Adams’s ill-natured remarks may be surmised from a diary entry a few years later in which he verbally skewered a gentleman he met one evening. “More of the Clown, is not in the World. A hoggish, ill bred, uncivil, haughty, Coxcomb, as I ever saw. His Wit is forced and affected, his Manners to his father, Wife, and to Company are brutally rustic, he is ostentatious of his Talent at Disputation, forever giving History, like my Uncle Hottentot, of some Wrangle he has had with this and that Divine.”

BUT AS HARD AS ADAMS WAS on his fellow men, he was harder on himself. Into his diary he poured his hopes, fears, ambitions, frustrations, and self-recriminations. Like any very young man, he often seemed poised between joy and despair. His sensitivity to a beautiful spring day could send him into raptures. “The Weather and the Season are beyond expression delightful,” he wrote on May 11, 1756. “The fields are coverd with a bright and lively Verdure. The Trees are all in bloom, and the atmosphere is filled with a ravishing Fragrance. The Air is soft and yielding and the Setting sun Sprinkled his departing Rays over the Face of Nature, and enlivened all the Land skips around me.”

On another occasion, the same young man would lament, “All my Time seems to roll away unnoticed.” Adams desperately wanted to improve himself by studying the classics, mathematics, and philosophy, “But I have no Books, no Time, no Friends. I must therefore be contented to die an ignorant, obscure Fellow.” Before long John was neither ignorant nor obscure, but he felt as if he ought to accomplish great things in life, and his ambition caused him much worry.

Nothing exasperated John so much as his inability to keep his mind from leaping all over the place: “I can as easily still the fierce Tempests or Stop the rapid Thunderbolt, as command the motions and operations of my

own mind.” Bursting with good intentions and unmanageable ambitions, he strove to carry out campaigns of self-improvement. “I am now entering on another Year,” he wrote on July 21, 1756, “and I am resolved not to neglect my Time as I did last Year.” John promised himself to rise at dawn and read either the Bible or some Latin author, and read the English classics in the afternoons and evenings. “May I blush whenever I suffer one hour to pass unimproved,” he wrote. But the very next day he recorded, “Rose not till 7 o clock. This is the usual Fate of my Resolutions!” Beginning on the following Monday, again following his regimen, John got up at 7 A.M. for three days in a row and read at least thirty lines in Virgil. On Thursday, for a change of pace, he got up at 6:30 and read some Greek. Not until Friday did his good habits lapse once again. “A very rainy Day,” he wrote in his diary. “Dreamed away the time.”

A month after he spelled out his resolutions, John Adams again put himself to the test. He contracted to study law with James Putnam, a young Worcester attorney. For the next two years, John taught school by day and studied law by night. He stayed in Putnam’s house and found his law master an agreeable companion. Putnam’s conversation continued to stimulate John’s curiosity; over meals, Putnam was “commonly disputing with me upon some question of Religion.” The young Adams had little time for idle pursuits while he kept this busy schedule. He set aside his diary for the next two years and later remembered his life during this time as being mostly sedentary. But in his autobiography, Adams recalled a couple of memorable trips.

During the French and Indian War, Adams volunteered to deliver some dispatches to the governor of Rhode Island. On his way through the Narragansett wood in Rhode Island, he encountered the governor himself, who invited John to stop and visit him. Adams politely declined the offer, “as I was determined to see Newport.”

At some time between 1756 and 1758, Adams took another journey that “well nigh proved fatal to me.” His friend Joshua Willard of Petersham “invited me with many other Gentlemen of Worcester, to escort home his Wife.” Whether it was the rigors of the jour-

John Adams: the Leader the Youth Became

ALTHOUGH JOHN ADAMS continued to fret about fame and reputation throughout his life, there is no doubt today about his importance in American history. The self-conscious, self-critical, and easily distracted young lawyer was eventually to have a major hand in shaping the new nation. He served his country in many roles—as revolutionary, diplomat, political philosopher, vice president, and president.

Adams became one of the leading lawyers in the colonies and was an early advocate of American independence. Despite his opposition to British rule, Adams courageously defended British soldiers accused of murder in the Boston Massacre of 1770. Subsequent public service in Massachusetts as a member of the legislature led to Adams's election to the Continental Congress in 1774. As a distinguished member of that brilliant assembly, he was instrumental in bringing about the vote for independence in July 1776. One of his lesser-known contributions to the American cause was supervising the operation of the war as head of Congress's Board of War and Ordnance.

In 1778, Congress sent Adams to France as an American envoy, and he spent most of the next decade as a diplomat in Europe. While on a brief visit to the United States in 1779, Adams wrote the Massachusetts state constitution, a document that subsequently influenced the drafting of both the national and other state constitutions. Returning to France in late 1779, he soon realized that the crafty statesman Comte de Vergennes was undermining his diplomatic efforts. So the American ambassador shifted his attention to the Netherlands and began lobbying the Dutch citizens and government for recognition of the United States. After nearly two years he succeeded—a triumph that, he told his wife at the time, was “the happiest Event, and the greatest action of my Life past or future.”

Other happy events and great actions were yet to come. As a member of the American peace commission in Paris, Adams helped to win crucial concessions from the British after the United States won its inde-

pendence in 1782. During his next six years as a diplomat, Adams negotiated commercial treaties with European powers and had the honor of serving as the first American ambassador to Great Britain.

Adams returned home at last in 1788 and won election as the first vice president of the United States. Consigned to his largely ceremonial role for eight frustrating years, Adams called the vice-presidency “the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived.” The vice president's fondness for European-style pomp earned him a reputation for aristocratic leanings, and detractors gave him the nickname “His Rotundity.”

John Adams succeeded George Washington as second president of the United States in 1796, defeating Thomas Jefferson by two electoral votes. His administration had its notable achievements, such as preventing a dispute with France from breaking out into open war. But gifted as he was as a lawyer, parliamentarian, and diplomat, Adams preferred to conduct the nation's business without regard to the nuisance of party politics. His lack of political savvy or sense of self-preservation helped to bring about his undoing; he waited far too long to fire several disloyal cabinet members. Adams also gained enmity for signing into law the unpopular Alien and Sedition Acts, which Congress enacted to stifle criticism of public officials. Narrowly defeated by Thomas Jefferson in his bid for re-election, Adams left office in 1801 feeling that his country had turned its back on him.

The ex-president spent the quarter-century of his retirement on his farm in Braintree, Massachusetts, reading, writing, and corresponding with old friends. He lived to see his son John Quincy elected president of the United States in 1825. The old patriot lingered on until July 4, 1826—by one of history's greatest coincidences, the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the day that also marked the passing of the document's author, Thomas Jefferson. ★

ney through the rough Massachusetts countryside, “or the rude Motions of my horse in particular I know not, I found myself in very ill health.”

Doctors told Adams that overwork had “corrupted the whole Mass of my blood and Juices, and that I must have recourse to a Milk Diet according to the Theory and Practice of Dr. Cheyne, at that time the height of the Fassion in Medicine.” For eighteen months, John subsisted solely on bread, milk, vegetables, and water. This made him feel better, but he suffered from chronic heartburn that he treated with “large potions of Tea at Evening.” At last John's father used a little sound advice and “a little good humoured ridicule” to prod him into supplementing his sparse diet with “a little meat and more comforting Drink.” But Adams still persevered with his diet until after he began serving in Congress, “when long Journeys and Voyages made a more generous Regimen essential to my being.”

COMPLETING HIS STUDIES with James Putnam in 1758, John Adams decided to return to Braintree to practice law. Putnam forgot to have John sworn in before the court in Worcester, which would have automatically allowed him to practice in Braintree. So instead Adams decided to present himself before the Court of Common Pleas in Boston, which had jurisdiction over Braintree. In the fall of 1758, Adams traveled to Boston and looked for a sponsor among the city's leading lawyers. He had an especially fruitful meeting with Jeremiah Gridley, the dean of the Boston bar. Adams called on Gridley at his office, and Gridley questioned the aspiring lawyer as he might have questioned a witness. He asked John what he had been reading and was impressed with the titles of the law books Adams ticked off.

Gridley gave his visitor a little lecture about the lawyer's business in America, telling him that it was more

Adams resolved (but sometimes failed) to “rise at dawn and read either the Bible or some Latin author . . . May I blush whenever I suffer one hour to pass unimproved.”



difficult than in England. Then Gridley offered a few words of advice that John Adams not only transcribed in his diary but took to heart. “One is to pursue the study of the law rather than the gain of it,” Gridley said. “Pursue the gain of it enough to keep out of the briars, but give your main attention to the study of it. The next thing is, not to marry early. For an early marriage will obstruct your improvement, and in the next place, ’twill involve you in expense. Another thing is, not to keep much company. For the application of a man who aims to be a lawyer must be incessant. His attention to his books must be constant, which is inconsistent with keeping much company.” Adams followed Gridley’s advice, and in a few years he was one of the colony’s leading lawyers.

With the enthusiastic recommendation of Jeremiah Gridley, John Adams was sworn in before the Suffolk County Court of Common Pleas in November 1758.

Adam’s legal career got off on the wrong foot when he lost his first case because he failed to fill out a writ properly. Now that he was in business, John had a new set of worries. “Reputation ought to be the perpetual subject of my Thoughts, and Aim of my Behavior. How shall I gain a reputation! How shall I Spread an Opinion of myself as a Lawyer of distinguished Genius, Learning and Virtue.” John’s old problems with self-discipline returned in a new and annoying form. While in Boston to drum up some business, Adams was too distracted to keep his mind on his work. “My Eyes are so diverted with Chimney Sweeps, Carriers of Wood, Merchants, Ladies, Priests, Carts, Horses, Oxen, Coaches, Market men and Women, Soldiers, Sailors, and my Ears with the Rattle Gabble of them all that I cant think long enough in the Street upon any one Thing to start and pursue a Thought.”

As if the spectacle of life was not distracting enough, John also had women on his mind again. His particular interest was Hannah Quincy, the bright and attractive daughter of Colonel and Mrs. Josiah Quincy of Braintree. In spite of Jeremiah Gridley’s warnings against early marriage, John was nearly charmed into proposing to Hannah. In the spring of 1759, he recorded in his diary that his friend Jonathon Sewall and Hannah’s sis-

ter Ester “broke in upon [Hannah] and me and interrupted a Conversation that would have terminated in a Courtship, which in spight of the Dr. [Bela Lincoln, who married Hannah the next year] would have terminated in a Marriage, which Marriage might have depressed me to absolute Poverty and obscurity, to the End of my Life.” John’s interest in Hannah waned, but not before his father gave him a “serious Lecture” about the rumors that were circulating. “And the Story has spread so wide now, that if I don’t marry her, she will be said to have jockeyed me, or I to have jockeyed her, and he says the Girl should not suffer.”

OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS, Adams slowly started to sort things out. The career his youth had promised began to take shape. After a slow start, his law practice grew and his reputation spread. His interest in the political relations between England and America also began to grow. In 1760, Adams was an eyewitness at the writs of assistance trial, which became an early test case over American rights. These writs allowed searches for smuggled goods without a warrant. Like many others at the trial, John was carried away by James Otis’s brilliant defense of American rights.

The next year, 1761, John’s beloved father died at the age of seventy. Upon inheriting part of the Adams homestead, John was entitled as a householder to vote and hold office in Braintree. He was nominated to serve as a surveyor of highways and acquitted himself admirably. At this time, Adams was enjoying a courtship with Abigail Smith, a sensitive, intelligent woman nine years his junior. He had learned Jeremiah Gridley’s lessons well; by the time John and Abigail were married in October 1764, he enjoyed a successful law practice. A dozen years later, Adams was a world figure and a leading actor in the drama of American independence. But as famous as he became, the man never lost the restless curiosity, enthusiasm, or sharp wit of the boy from Braintree. ★

Harvard graduate and free lance writer Paul Rosta is on the staff of the Los Angeles Times. His profile of John James Audubon appeared in the October 1985 issue of American History Illustrated.

Despite the catch-phrase, politics definitely were not adjourned during the crucial congressional race of 1918.

“Politics is Adjourned!”

by Roy Hoopes

OFF-YEAR congressional elections are usually decided on local or regional issues and most are soon forgotten, even by historians, who rarely can point to one that proved pivotal or significant to America's history. But most students of government agree that there was at least one exception: the congressional election of 1918 was as significant historically as it was dramatic. Indeed, it has often been said that a bizarre Senate election in one state—Michigan—determined whether or not the United States would join the League of Nations. To add to the drama, that state's defeated “Democrat”—industrialist Henry Ford—was a lifelong Republican.

Democrat Woodrow Wilson was in the White House in 1918, having been reelected two years earlier on the platform, “He Kept Us Out of War.” But by April of 1917, America was fully involved in World War I. In a speech to the Congress in January 1918, Wilson had proclaimed his famous “Fourteen Points” formula for peace—point fourteen of which proposed “a general association of nations”* to

preserve territorial boundaries and enforce the peace. By August 1918 Germany was reeling from battlefield defeats, and the Allies could sense victory. Ex-president Theodore Roosevelt and Senate Republican leader Henry Cabot Lodge were both calling for demands for unconditional surrender by Germany; at the same time there were signs that the Germans might seek a truce based on the president's Fourteen Points.

WILSON, a former historian who had written a book on congressional government, recognized the necessity for Senate support in negotiating the peace treaties that lay ahead. In fact, he had been aware of the need for a Democratic senate as early as 1917, when it might be said the dramatic election actually began. As historian David Kennedy has pointed out, “the very fates seemed arrayed against the President's party. Death claimed eight Democratic Senators during the 65th Congress, thinning their already sparse majority.”

One of the cruelest blows to the Democrats had occurred in the fall

of 1917, when Wisconsin Senator Paul O. Hastings was killed in a duck-hunting accident. The following April, Wisconsin held a special election to fill the vacancy created by Hastings' death. The outcome should have served as a lesson to Wilson and his advisors.

Wilson induced Joseph E. Davies, a popular Wisconsin Democrat, to resign his post as chairman of the Federal Trade Commission and run for the empty Senate seat. His opponent was Representative Irvine Lenroot, who had been a steadfast opponent of Wilson's conduct of the war. When Davies left Washington, Wilson wrote him a well-publicized letter congratulating him for having passed the “acid test” of loyalty to the war effort by supporting the Administration (from the Federal Trade Commission where he did not have to vote) on three war measures that Lenroot had opposed in the House. The implication was transparent: unlike Davies, Lenroot lacked “true loyalty and genuine Americanism,” as Wilson phrased it.

To doubly insure that the voters got the message, the Democrats dispatched Vice President Thomas Marshall to Wisconsin, where he warned Wisconsinites that their state was “under suspicion” of disloyalty and that the only way to rec-

**Ironically, although Wilson subsequently fought the greatest battle of his political career to win Senate ratification of the treaty, he failed to gain it, and the*

United States never joined the League of Nations. America's critical absence contributed to the League's ultimate demise.



tify it was to return Davies to Washington as a senator.

The Administration's blatant intervention in the election and the questioning of their loyalty stunned Wisconsin voters. Davies was easily defeated. But rather than learning a lesson from the experience, the Democrats planned a similar intervention in Michigan in the 1918 congressional election, and the president went along with it.

THE ADMINISTRATION held a ten-seat majority in the Senate going into the election of 1918. Thirty-seven seats were being contested that year, and political experts calculated that if the Republicans were to gain control of the Senate they would have to retain all fourteen of the seats they held and capture at least five more from the Democrats.

The task appeared to be a formidable one for the Republicans, but the Democrats, too, were worried. Secretary of the Navy Josephus

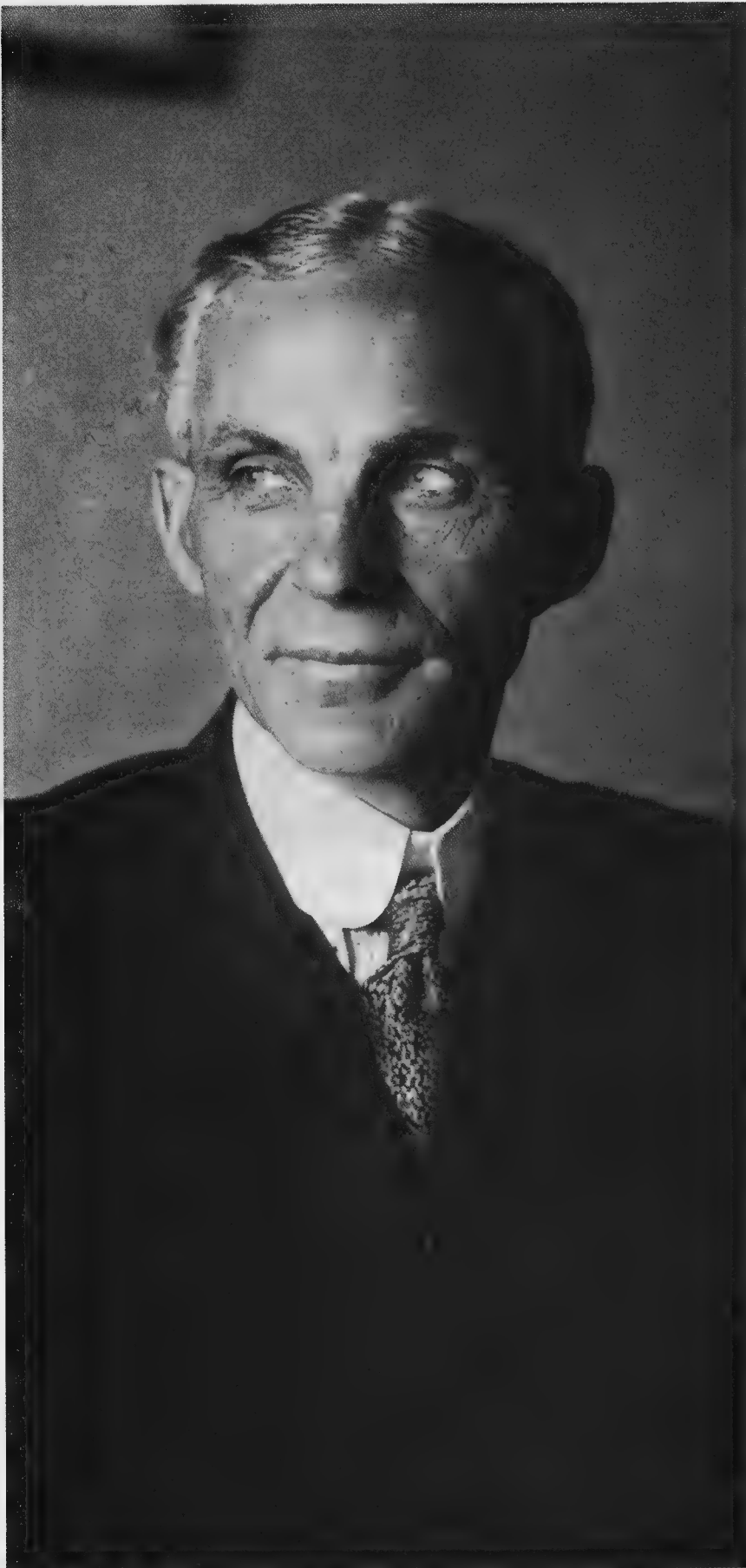
Daniels, an ex-North Carolina newspaper editor, was one of the most astute politicians in the Wilson cabinet. As he saw the situation, "six seats in the Senate were in serious doubt. Five were conceded to the Republicans . . . [but] in Michigan the President saw a glimmer of hope."

And it was Daniels who had first spotted the glimmer. While on a speaking tour in Michigan early in 1918, Daniels had asked the Democratic State Chairman if there was a chance of electing a Michigan Democrat to the Senate. "As much chance as there would be to elect Henry Cabot Lodge from South Carolina," he replied. But there was one Wilson supporter in Michigan, said the chairman, who could get elected—Henry Ford. "He would get the nomination of both the Republicans and Democrats in the primary. He could be elected and his desire for peace and his admiration of Wilson would give the president a

As the 1918 congressional elections approached during the closing months of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson realized that preserving a Democratic majority in both houses would be crucial to his proposed fourteen-point plan for peace and especially for his dreamed-of League of Nations. But campaign miscalculations, a controversial veto, and Wilson's preoccupation with armistice negotiations were destined to contribute to his party's failure to retain control in the Senate.

senator who would stand by the League of Nations and his other policies." But the chairman said that he did not think Ford was interested in politics, and that the only person who would be able to persuade him to run was the president.

Henry Ford's desire for peace had already been demonstrated in 1915, when he sailed to Europe in the Os-



car II (the famous "Peace Ship") with the hope of bringing the war to an early end. Once America had entered the conflict, Ford had been a staunch supporter of the president.

Wilson was, in turn, an admirer of Henry Ford. He thought the peace ship effort, although misguided, was a sincere gesture. Moreover, during the closing days of Wilson's presidential campaign in 1916, Ford had made a large contribution that had enabled the Democrats to afford a substantial advertising campaign in California. This had assured victory in that critical state, and, in the opinion of many, had given Wilson his narrow victory over Republican presidential candidate Charles Evans Hughes. The auto manufacturer had also endeared himself to the president by offering to put the Ford Motor Company to work producing war materials without profit. Secretary Daniels summoned Ford to Washington but failed to persuade him to run for the Senate. President Wilson, however, was successful. Ford returned to Michigan and announced his candidacy, saying: "I know nothing about politics . . . and I am not at all concerned about which ticket I am nominated on. I shall not spend a cent nor make a move to get into the United States Senate . . . I would not walk across the street to be elected President of the United States. If I am elected, however, I shall go to Washington and work with President Wilson with everything I possess, first to win the war and then to help the government develop ways of insuring against future wars."

Ford's subsequent campaign was a disaster. It soon came out, of course, that it had been Wilson who had persuaded him to run, and Republicans argued that as in Wiscon-

President Wilson's hand-picked candidate for the pivotal Michigan senatorial race in 1918 was not a Democrat but rather lifelong Republican Henry Ford. The industrialist's subsequent campaign on the Democratic ticket—during which he made no public appearances—turned out to be something of a disaster.

sin this was a case of the president intervening in a local election.

In the Republican primary Henry Ford was opposed by Truman Newberry, a naval commander who had served in New York during the war and who earlier had been Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of the Navy. Wilson's plan was for Ford to also run in the Democratic primary unopposed—freeing most Democrats to cross over and vote for Ford in the Republican election. But another Democrat entered the race, forcing many Democrats to vote Democratic to assure Ford's victory there. This, combined with Newberry's acceptability and the large amount of money spent by the Republicans on his behalf in the primary (expenditures that were later found to be illegal), gave the Republican nomination to Newberry. So Ford was forced to run in the subsequent general election as a Democrat, even though he conceded that he was Republican for the same reason that he had two ears—because he was “born that way.”

That was not Ford's only problem. His candidacy gave the opposition the opportunity to capitalize on numerous inconsistent and inaccurate statements he had made earlier about Wilson and the war. The industrialist made no public appearances (one of the reasons he had given for not running was that he could not give speeches), but some of his pronouncements to the press were misfires. For example, he recalled going to the polls on his twenty-first birthday to vote for John Garfield—and it did not take the Newberry camp long to point out that Ford was twenty-one in 1884 and that President Garfield

Ford's Republican opponent in the 1918 senatorial race was Truman Newberry, who had served as a commander in the U.S. Navy. Although the only ship that Newberry had commanded was in New York's Central Park, he used his military service to advantage in the campaign. When the votes were counted in November 1918, Newberry emerged the winner by a narrow margin—and the Republicans controlled the Senate.



was assassinated in 1881.

Another issue that was detrimental to Ford was the question of his son's draft deferment. Edsel Ford had been labeled "indispensable" to the war effort and exempted from the draft in order to run his father's factory. Newberry asked how the senior Ford could be spared for Senate duty if his son could not be spared for military duty?

Newberry, a naval commander who had been in uniform as a recruiting officer, had no trouble establishing his patriotism. But to add a little luster to his military career, just before the election his campaign headquarters released a photograph of Commander Newberry on the bridge of a ship giving orders to his crew. The press release issued with the photo asked: "Where was Edsel Ford . . . while Newberry was baring his breast to the foe in command of a ship of the Navy?" (The fact was that the bridge on which Newberry stood was part of a fake recruiting ship that had been built in Central Park—he had never been to sea, but this was not revealed until after the election.)

THE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN to win control of Congress in 1918 was under the general direction of Will Hays, Republican National Committee Chairman (he would later become head of Hollywood's famous Hays Office of censorship), ex-President Theodore Roosevelt (still bellicose, though in failing health), and Senator Lodge. By now Wilson, not the Republican Right Wing, had become Roosevelt's principal enemy, and he had long since become allied with Lodge against the president. Although Wilson had given his opponents the opportunity to make the war a partisan issue by his actions in the Wisconsin election, the Republicans knew they had to move with care. "The fact is," Lodge wrote a friend early in 1918, "we should run the risk of defeating our own ends if we made the attacks on Wilson that we all want to make. We must give no opening for the charge that we are drawing the party line and the cry that we are not loyal to the war." The objective, as Weeks put it, was to devise "a program which will . . . include sup-

porting the administration in all its war activities but which will give us something to hang party action on when the war is over." In other words, oppose the administration's conduct of the war without opposing the war.

In March Theodore Roosevelt spoke to Maine Republicans, providing what he hoped would be the "keynote on which the congressional campaign can be fought." He argued that President Wilson had allowed the country to be unprepared for war, then had mismanaged mobilization when the war actually began. And even now, he maintained, Wilson was trying to win the war with "kid gloves and fine phrases" when what were needed were "brains and steel." "There is but one way to get a righteous and lasting peace," he argued, "and that is to beat Germany to her knees"—a cry that would intensify as the campaign went to its final weeks and it became public knowledge that Germany was seeking a truce.

As the year drifted toward summer, Congressman on both sides of the aisle were anxious to get home to campaign, and an adjournment date of July 1 was anticipated. But Wilson's treasury secretary (and son-in-law) William Gibbs McAdoo pressed the president for a revenue bill that was needed to continue financing the war. The president knew this would take all summer, so on May 27 he made a surprise appearance before a joint session of Congress, asking that it delay adjournment long enough to give him a new tax bill based primarily on excess profits—a bill that would be supported by a soon-to-be-released government report revealing widespread war-profiteering in American industry.

With this speech a new phrase—"politics is adjourned"—became a hallmark of the 1918 campaign. The 1918 elections, said Wilson, should go to the those who gave the least thought to winning them. The press (and the Republicans when it suited them) pounced on Wilson's state-

ment, claiming that he had said politics should be adjourned for the campaign.

But Wilson only meant that he was requesting partisan politics be adjourned until he had his tax bill (he was, in fact, destined never to get it) or roughly until the end of the summer, when he assumed the campaign would begin. Wilson certainly did not plan to adjourn politics; in fact, early in June, he requested that his secretary, Joseph Tumulty, work out a tactful, effective plan for asking the country to give him a Democratic Congress without arousing partisan rancor. But Tumulty advised him not to say anything, and so the president refrained. Wilson never completely abandoned the idea, however, which he brought up again with his advisor, Colonel Edward House, in September. House was silent, which students of the peculiar House-Wilson relationship said meant House also opposed it.

Neither did the Republicans have any intention of adjourning from partisan politics for the 1918 election. Only two days after Wilson's speech to Congress, the keynote speaker at the Indiana Republican Convention warned that the election would be concerned with the peace terms given Germany. "The making of them," he said, "must not be left to the dreamers, the social uplifters, the pacifists and the bolshevists who are now unhappily much in evidence and who appear prominently among the president's chief advisors."

MEANWHILE, there was another issue that, in the opinion of many historians, probably hurt Wilson more than the question of support for his war efforts and the peace negotiations. People in the western United States were generally incensed by the Administration's insistence in maintaining a wartime ceiling on the price of wheat. It was not the fixed wheat price alone that caused the trouble, but the fact that at the same time Wilson permitted the price of cotton to find its own level—which was very high because of wartime demands.

Cotton, of course, was a Southern staple. Wilson had been born in the South, and the Democrats from

Suggested additional reading: The Wilson Era: Years of War and After, 1917-1923 by Josephus Daniels (Greenwood, 1974).



Following his six-month effort to help create the Treaty of Versailles (which included a covenant for a league of nations as well as conditions for peace), President Wilson presented the agreement to Congress for ratification in the summer of 1919 (above). But his plea for acceptance was opposed by a now-hostile, Republican-controlled Senate, and despite Wilson's subsequent tragically ill-fated campaign to take the issue before the American people, ratification was never accomplished.

the Solid South controlled Congress, facts that angered not only Westerners but also many Northerners. Senator Thomas Gore had sponsored an amendment to the Lever Price Control Act that, if enacted into law, would have raised the price of wheat. The Gore Amendment passed, but Wilson vetoed it in July 1918. The House sustained him, and, as one historian

wrote, "the veto proved to be the turning point in Wilson's political fortunes."

Rather than issue his appeal for a Democratic Congress to support him in the postwar period, Wilson decided to go on a nationwide Liberty Bond campaign tour. This would enable him not only to speak on patriotic themes but also to explain to the West why he had chosen to restrict the price of wheat but not cotton. Advisors persuaded him, however, that it would be better if he remained in Washington during the campaign. Theodore Roosevelt, in the meantime, had planned a bond-selling trip to counter Wilson's speeches, and soon he was delivering anti-Wilson speeches that sometimes seemed, because he was selling bonds, to be sanctioned by the government.

Meanwhile, as the campaign went into the late summer and early fall, Republicans across the country were confronted with news from the battlefield telling of German defeats

and Allied victories. They may have had some good issues in the failure of the army to supply blankets to the troops, war profiteering, and airplane scandals (growing out of the Administration's failure to send hundreds of airplanes overseas as had been promised by Wilson's propaganda agency), but with the Americans chasing Germans across the Rhine Valley, who would care? More and more, the key issue became the peace negotiations and the nature of the postwar world.

Lodge had delivered a campaign blast in August warning that Germany was preparing a "poisonous peace campaign" that would enable it to accomplish by negotiations what its armies had failed to achieve in the field. And Roosevelt, on his speaking tour, began to argue that the country's strength would rest on its army, not the League of Nations, and warned people to watch for "quack peace remedies" peddled by the Administration.

On October 5, the country was

electrified by the announcement of the first formal peace overtures from the Germans. They had come directly to Wilson, the author of the Fourteen Points, which the Germans hoped would serve as the basis of the truce. This meant that the president spent the entire last month of the campaign preoccupied primarily with peace negotiations.

Since the end of September he had been thinking again of issuing an appeal to the country to give him a Democratic Congress. Now the possibility of imminent surrender heightened his concern. In addition, with the war fading as an issue, Lodge and Roosevelt were intensifying their campaign to discredit the League of Nations idea and discourage anything but an unconditional surrender by the Germans. Politics were no longer "adjourned"—they dominated the campaign.

Wilson responded to the German overture with a cautious note from Secretary of State Robert Lansing, designed to determine the genuineness of the peace overtures and whether the German government actually represented the German people. Despite the noncommittal nature of the note, Republicans in the Senate unleashed a vicious attack on the president for even discussing peace with the Germans before they had been beaten to the ground.

It was not just unconditional surrender and the League of Nations that worried Republicans. Point three of Wilson's Fourteen Points called for the removal of all trade barriers, which Republican Chairman Hays said was an "absolute commitment to the free trade with all the world, thus giving Germany . . . the fruits of a victory."

The Republican response to Lansing's peace note to Germany dispelled any lingering doubts Wilson had about issuing an appeal for a Democratic Congress. The Republicans in the Senate were enough of a problem when they did not have control. Should they achieve control in the Senate, Wilson knew that any treaty that did not totally satisfy Republican hard-liners would never pass.

On October 25, after discussing his decision only with Congressional and National Committee campaign

leaders, President Wilson issued a dramatic statement to the press, virtually making it every American's patriotic duty to give him a Democratic Congress to support his peace efforts. "Unity of command," he said, "is as necessary now in civil action as it is upon the field of battle. If the control of the House and Senate should be taken away from the Party now in power, an opposing majority could assume control of legislation and oblige all action to be taken amidst contest and obstruction."

A Republican victory, the president said in a remark he would regret the rest of his life, "would certainly be interpreted on the other side of the water as a repudiation of my leadership."

NEGATIVE RESPONSE to Wilson's appeal was immediate and intense; even the Democrats were stunned, with most party leaders (and all of Wilson's cabinet) learning of his statement for the first time when they read the morning newspapers. The Republicans declared emphatically that their patriotism had been impugned (despite the fact that for the past three weeks Republican orators had demonstrated conclusively they did not support the president in his peace efforts). Now, as GOP Chairman Hays put it, had come this "ungracious . . . wanton . . . mendacious" appeal. The most immediate result, as one historian said, was "to elevate the level of rhetorical violence at which the final few days of the campaign was waged."

When the votes were cast on November 5 (while Wilson was rejoicing with his cabinet because the Allied War Council had just accepted his Fourteen Points and had agreed to the peace terms that he felt certain the Germans would accept) the Republicans gained thirty House seats and six Senate seats, the latter giving them control of the Senate. In Michigan, Truman Newberry had defeated Henry Ford, though by the narrowest of margins.

It quickly became Republican legend and conventional wisdom that Wilson's last-minute appeal had cost him the Senate. But historians have decided that this was probably

not the case: the appeal might, in fact, have gained him more votes than he lost. The nation was still essentially Republican, and mid-term elections generally go against the incumbent of the White House and favor the party that dominates national politics.

Probably the most damaging factor had been Wilson's veto of the Gore amendment, which was a stroke, said one historian, that "carved apart the fragile political coalition that had carried the Democrats to victory in 1916." The West and Midwest deserted the Democrats in 1918 and would not return to the fold until the Depression.

Following the Michigan election, conclusive evidence was discovered to show that Newberry campaigners had spent money illegally in the primary. Public attention continued to focus on this issue for several years, despite the fact that there was not a chance that the Republican Senate would ever vote to unseat Newberry. Ford hired an army of private detectives to investigate Newberry, and a Grand Rapids court found him guilty and sentenced him to two years in prison. The case was appealed, however, and the Supreme Court eventually declared that the law under which Newberry had been indicted was unconstitutional. In 1922, after the Democrats regained control of the Senate and threatened to reopen the Newberry case, the Senator resigned, although he still had two years left of his term.

The one vote that permitted the Republicans to reorganize the Senate was, indeed, tainted, but it did not matter. The damage had been done, and not just by Newberry and the Michigan Republicans. As a result of the 1918 elections, "the United States," as one historian put it, "for the aftermath of the greatest war that it had ever fought, was to have the sort of Congressional government that had prevailed after the Civil War and that Woodrow Wilson had criticized in his first book [on congressional government] . . . The last act of the tragedy of Woodrow Wilson had begun." ★

Roy Hoopes is the director of public information at Washington College in Chestertown, Maryland.

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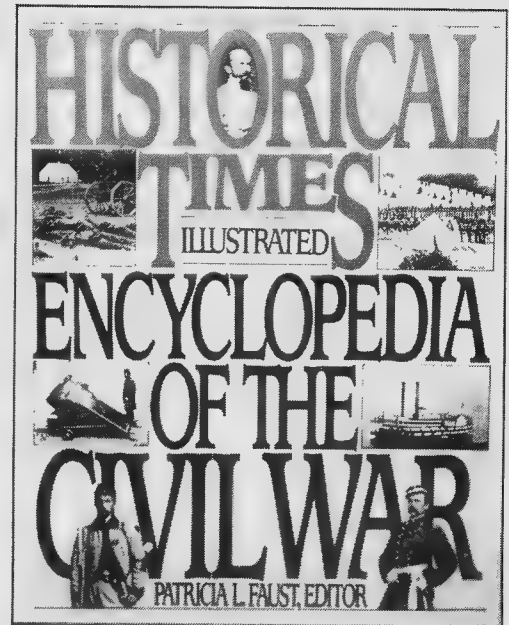
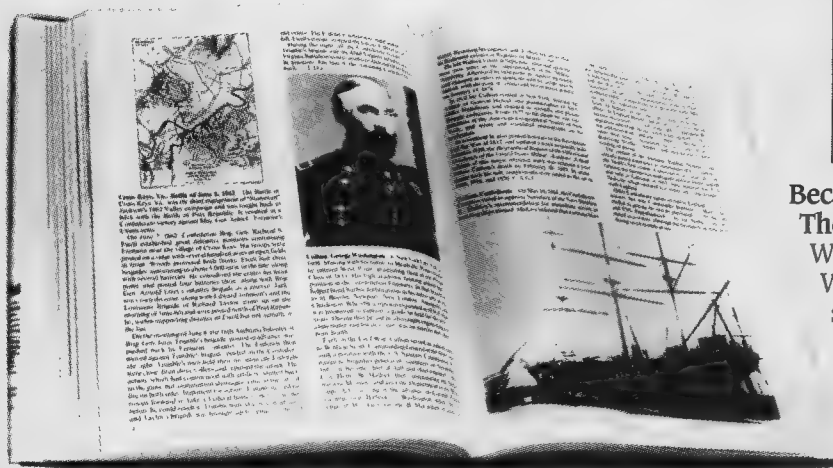
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This Wyoming photographer captured the essence of his region as it proudly emerged from rude frontier beginnings.

The Western Photographs of J.E. Stimson

by Mark Junge



Nineteenth-century historian Francis Parkman would have considered the West of photographer Joseph E. Stimson as "commonplace," a term he used to describe the creeping civilization that overcame the "Wild West" of the Oregon Trail. "The Wild West is tamed, and its savage charms have withered," wrote Parkman in his *Oregon Trail: Sketches of Prairie and Rocky Mountain Life*. Yet, the "irresistible commonplace" that Parkman lamented in the 1892 preface to his book is something in which later observers of the American scene have reveled. In the picture book *Commonplace*, modern-day photographer David Plowden extols the ordi-

nary American landscapes and cityscapes that often seem to escape our vision, "the unguarded side of places, where America is unconsciously revealed." The photographs of Joseph E. Stimson, sampled on these pages, lie somewhere between Parkman's idyllic West and Plowden's contemporary revelation in the vernacular. Arriving in Cheyenne, Wyoming, in 1889, Stimson was too late to capture the wild Indian, grizzly bear, and trapper of Parkman's reminiscence and too early to look nostalgically backward or to sanctify the commonplace of America's side streets and back alleys. What his pictures provide, instead, is a frontal view of the American West as its people and promoters wanted to see it, at a time when the region was proudly emerging from its rude frontier beginnings. It was a time for self-improvement and the promotion of progress, and Stimson was a businessman who was paid to depict the

customer with his best foot forward—to feature the commercial, industrial, and agricultural resources of his region in the best possible light.

Joseph Elam Stimson's career was launched at age sixteen, when he began work as a photographic apprentice to a cousin in Appleton, Wisconsin. Three years later Stimson emigrated west to Cheyenne, made a down-payment on a local studio, and set up shop as a portrait photographer. In 1895, a camping trip to the Big Horn Mountains led him to try his hand at scenic photogra-

This portfolio is adapted, with permission, from material in J.E. Stimson: Photographer of the West by Mark Junge, published by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. (Copyright 1985 by the University of Nebraska Press.)

Sedgewick, Colorado, pictured here in 1909, was one of dozens of towns and cities that Joseph E. Stimson photographed during his travels through ten western states on behalf of the Union Pacific Railroad and various state promotional agencies.





phy. The success of his scenic work eventually turned Stimson away from local portraits and provided the opportunity to apply his skill to other subjects and a larger area of the West.

In about 1900 one of Stimson's scenic albums fell into the hands of Alfred Darlow, an advertising specialist for the Union Pacific Railroad. Believing that energetic growth of the Union Pacific depended upon publicity, the agent made Stimson the company's official photographer and assigned him to take scenic photographs along the railroad from Council Bluffs, Iowa, to San Francisco and Los Angeles,

In 1906 Stimson photographed the building of a temporary trestle on the Union Pacific's Lane Cutoff, in the Papio Valley just west of Omaha, Nebraska. Here, with construction still in progress, a work train has already started to dump fill for the massive earthworks that will supplant the trestle.

California. Nothing in Union Pacific country was unworthy of public notice. Stimson was given carte blanche to photograph not only natural wonders but also towns and cities, farms and ranches, reclamation and irrigation works, and mines and industrial plants. The railroad itself was a subject for photographic exploitation: tracks, depots, rolling stock, and personnel—whatever might interest the potential investor, developer, or colonist.

For the next decade Stimson photographed ten Union Pacific states, traveling back and forth across the railroad's main and branch lines from the Missouri River to the West Coast, and recording in sharp detail the turn-of-the-century American West and Midwest.

During these same years Stimson traveled throughout Wyoming for state agencies, obtaining views for promotional pamphlets and brochures. Publication topics included ranching, dry farming, irrigation, homestead laws, coal and oil production, and recreation. Stimson also produced more than five hundred photographs of Wyoming scenes for display at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the world's fair of 1904 in St. Louis, where his pictures received several awards.

Although the first decade of the twentieth century proved to be Stimson's most productive one, he re-

mained active as a photographer nearly until his death at the age of eighty-two, in February 1952. By this time his files had grown to more than 7,500 glass plate and nitrate negatives, documenting a sixty-two-year span in the development of Wyoming and the surrounding region.

Today Stimson's consistently well-composed and sharply focused images provide a visual cross-section of the West during a transitional period in its history, a time when it was emerging from frontier status. Like windows in a Union Pacific coach carrying its passengers backward into time, they allow the onlooker to savor an era when the universe was finite, progress and human existence were assured, and rural values generally held sway.

Recognizing the artistic and historical significance of Stimson's life work, the State of Wyoming acquired his entire collection following his death. Today the negatives are preserved in the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department in Cheyenne, where they form the finest and most comprehensive historical collection extant on the region. That his pictures survive and are accessible to the public is a happy fulfillment of the photographer's own wish, reflected in the homily printed on protective tissues he laid over his prints: "It is given to few to create; to enjoy should be the inalienable birthright of all." ★

Mark Junge is the deputy state historic preservation officer for the State of Wyoming.



Taming the Land

Stimson's photographs of the Union Pacific Railroad, along with other pictures assigned by state agencies, were widely used to promote travel and attract settlers. Today these same views provide an invaluable historical record of the development of the region and its industries. The photograph below shows the Los Angeles Limited

crossing the same right-of-way seen on the previous two pages, but two years later, after the trestle had been replaced by landfill. Wheat and corn fields (bottom) grew on a government experimental farm near Cheyenne in 1913. Stimson photographed Tweed's Ranch (right) near Lander, Wyoming, in 1903.





By the Sweat of Their Brows

Stimson's travels brought him into contact with most types of work available to westerners at the turn of the century—and much of it was arduous. The cowboys below were photographed at a roundup

west of Cheyenne in 1898. The lower picture was made during sheep-shearing season at the Warren Livestock Company ranch near Meadow Springs, Colorado, in 1902. Early-day roughnecks

(right) were drilling an Atlantic and Pacific Oil Company well at Spring Valley, Wyoming, in 1903. The women at bottom right ironed shirts in the Cheyenne Steam Laundry in about 1916.





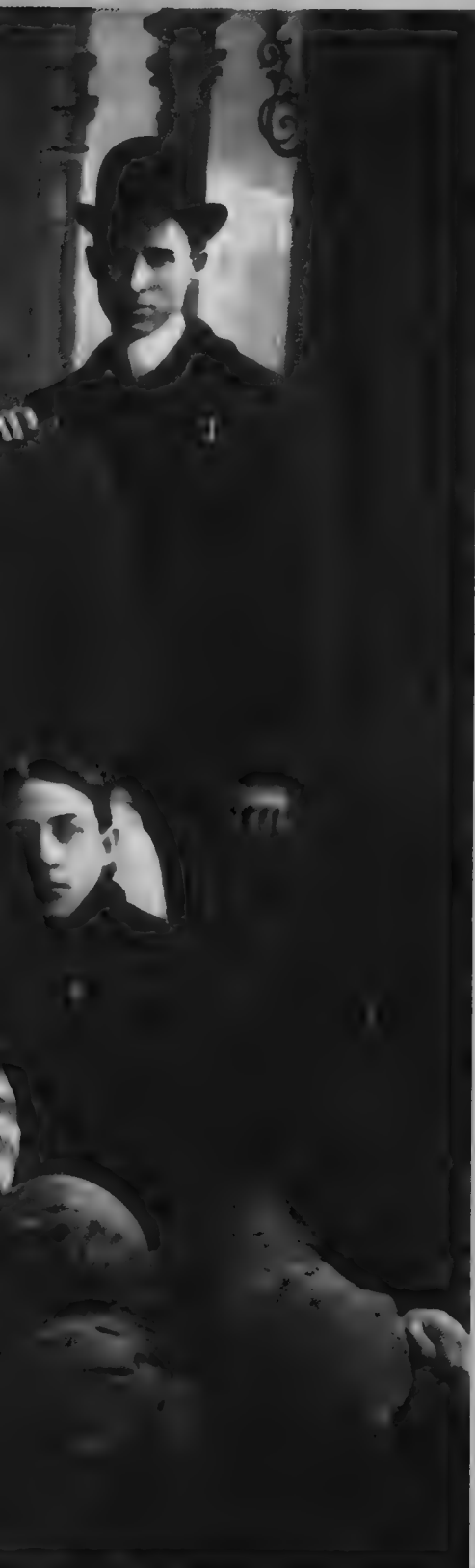
Faces of the West

The football team of the Cheyenne Athletic Club (below) posed with its mascot for Stimson in 1901. Organized in 1883, the club held regular meetings, social activities, and athletic competitions and demonstrations.

The young women at right were photographed at a 1907 gathering of the "Owls," a Newcastle, Wyoming, self-improvement organization whose members were



"wise as owls." Vanguard of a slightly more liberated era, the casually attired ladies at bottom right worked in the Cheyenne freight yards during World War I.





Many of Stimson's finest views focused on the men, equipment, and operations of the Union Pacific Railroad. These workers in the Union Pacific shops in Cheyenne, pictured in 1929, had gathered to hear an evangelist (visible with his glass of water and improvised podium in the center background).



Echoes from a Vanishing Frontier

Commencing in 1897, Cheyenne held an annual Frontier Days celebration to commemorate the region's pre-eminent and historic role in the livestock industry. Joseph E. Stimson was the event's

foremost early photographer, and his pictures document the celebration from its infancy until it became a well-established institution. Exuberant riders wheeling their mounts in a parade



(below) and cowgirls at the rodeo grounds (right) were photographed in 1908. Indians posing by a decorated canvas tepee (below right) took part in the 1902 celebration.



Alvin York: Soldier of the Lord

by Brian McGinty

HE WAS ONE OF AMERICA'S greatest war heroes—a tall, gangling, red-haired Army corporal who came out of the Cumberland Mountains of Tennessee in the closing days of World War I to almost single-handedly rout a nest of German machine gunners, kill twenty-five German soldiers, and take more than a hundred enemy prisoners. Alvin Cullum York's heroic exploits in the Argonne Forest of France on October 8, 1918, earned him the French Croix de Guerre, the Italian Croce di Guerra, the American Distinguished Service Cross and Medal of Honor, and a promotion to the rank of sergeant in the 328th Infantry of the 82d Division—the "All-American Division" of the American Expeditionary Force. It was as "Sergeant York" that the Tennessee backwoodsman was welcomed home in 1919; as "Sergeant York" that he was given a tumultuous ticker-tape reception in New York and invited to Washington, D.C., to hobnob with senators and congressmen; and as "Sergeant York" that he was greeted by grateful neighbors in his tiny hometown of Pall Mall.

Americans, almost without exception, took Alvin York to their hearts. Though he was not the only hero of World War I, he was the most universally admired. Americans eagerly read newspaper stories and magazine articles about York; they bought books that recounted his battlefield bravery and described his backwoods upbringing; and, in 1941, they flocked to movie theaters to see him portrayed on the screen. Warner Brothers' *Sergeant York*, with Gary Cooper in the title role, was one of the most popular motion picture biographies of all time. Coming on the eve of America's entry into World War II (the film premiered just six months before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor), *Sergeant York* awakened feelings of patriotism that had long lay dormant in the American public. Watching Gary Cooper as a simple but devout mountain man struggling to reconcile his perceived duties to God and country (and, in the end, concluding that these duties did not conflict), people began to reexamine their own feelings about God and country, about "isolationism" and "preparedness." If one brave backwoodsman could help "make the world safe for democracy" in 1918, could millions of God-fearing Americans do any less in 1941?

York's rugged religious faith did much to help estab-

lish him as a popular hero. Ironically, he had not been raised in a church-going family—in fact, he had spent much of his youth gambling, drinking "moonshine," and "raising hell" in the hills that straddled the Tennessee-Kentucky border. But he had experienced a religious conversion in about 1915 and thereafter became a devout member of the pacifist Church of Christ in Christian Union. When he was ordered to report for military service at Camp Gordon, Georgia, in the fall of 1917, he did so obediently, though the thought that he might soon be called on to take up arms against his fellowman made him "sick at heart."

York confided his religious scruples to his battalion commander, Major George E. Buxton, who quickly recognized him as a sincere—if troubled—believer. When the Tennessean told Buxton that he accepted "every sentence, every word" of the Bible, Buxton reminded him that Christ had said, "He that hath no sword, let him sell his cloak and buy one." When York quoted Christ's admonition, "If a man smite you on one cheek, turn the other to him," Buxton reminded him that Jesus drove the moneylenders from the Temple. Would Jesus have refused to help the Belgian people, the major asked, when they were overrun and driven from their homes? His mind in a ferment, York asked Buxton for a furlough to return home and sort out his thoughts. After ten days back in Tennessee, including two days and a night spent in prayer on a mountaintop, York resolved to return—and to fight.

The Tennessean now thought of himself as a "soldier of the Lord." He believed that he was divinely protected; that God was at his side wherever he went, even into the heat of battle. In France, he grieved for all those who were killed while fighting (after the smoke of battle cleared, he returned to the scene of his own "triumph" to pray for the dead, Americans and Germans alike); but he never once doubted that what he did on the battlefield was morally right. When in 1919 a reporter asked him how he managed to survive the enemy machine-gun fire in the Argonne, York answered, "We all know there are miracles, don't we? Well this was one. I was taken care of—it's the only way I can figure it." Asked why God spared his life while taking so many others, York admitted that he did not always understand the ways of the Lord. "I jes accept them," he said, "and bow my head and bless



BROWN BROTHERS, STERLING, PENNSYLVANIA

His holy name, and believe in Him more'n ever."

If York's faith gave him a steely confidence in battle, his extraordinary marksmanship—honed to near-perfection during his youthful, "hell-raising" days in the Tennessee mountains—gave him the fighting skill to overcome a vastly superior enemy force. At home, he had practiced shooting wild turkeys from horseback, methodically picking them off—one by one. In the Argonne, he pretended that the German machine gunners were wild turkeys, and he methodically picked them off—one by one. When a German lieutenant and five soldiers charged down a slope toward him with their bayonets fixed, he took cool aim with his .45 Colt automatic and shot the last man first, then the man next farthest away, and so on—explaining that this was "the way we shoot turkeys at home. You see we don't want the front ones to know that we're getting the back ones." When another German lieutenant, awed by York's marksmanship, offered to surrender his entire unit if the American would "just stop shooting," York calmly accepted the offer.

"Well, York," the Tennessean's battalion commander said after he returned to his base, "I hear you have captured the whole damned German army."

"No, sir," York answered. "Jes 132."

Alvin York lived out his life in the same Tennessee mountains in which he was born. He married the daughter of a local farmer and raised a family of eight sons and daughters. He raised the money to build a high school (named the Alvin C. York Agricultural Institute in his honor) and a Bible school. He worked a farm; he did some blacksmithing; and he preached.

York was seventy-six years old when he died in Nashville in 1964. The governor of Tennessee offered to take his body to the state capital to lie in state, but his children preferred to take him back to Pall Mall. "I was born here and I'll die here," he had told them. "No sir, they won't take me to Arlington. When I die they'll put me away with the rest of the folks in the old family graveyard."

Eight thousand mourners were in Pall Mall when Alvin York was buried in the family graveyard on September 2, 1964. At home in the mountains of Tennessee, the soldier of the Lord was at rest. ★

California attorney and writer Brian McGinty is a regular contributor to American History Illustrated.

Six months after Hitler declared war on the United States,
German saboteurs were on American soil.

Nazi Invasion!

by Joan Miller

A THICK FOG ENVELOPED the small summer resort town of Amagansett, near the eastern tip of Long Island. Shortly after midnight the conning tower of a German U-boat broke through the surface of the black ocean water offshore. A hatch swung open, and the commander of the U-202 and several crew members climbed topside. The submarine slowly moved into shallower water until it lay only fifty yards from the beach, but shrouded by the fog, it remained invisible to anyone on land. Responding to quiet orders, crewmen inflated and launched a rubber boat, then carefully loaded it with four wooden crates. Six men took their places in the craft and began to paddle toward a shore they could not see. A tether line connected the boat to the submarine to insure its safe recovery. Only the soft mutterings of the U-202's engine exhausts could be heard as the submariners tensely awaited the return of the inflatable and two of its occupants. It was June 13, 1942. Just six months and two days after war had been declared between the United States and Nazi Germany, German saboteurs were landing on American soil.

Shortly after the opening of hostilities between the two nations, Adolf Hitler had ordered that a program of sabotage begin immediately against the United States. It was Hitler's desire to strike hard inside America. He wanted to shake the American public's confidence and upset the production and flow of war materials.

Germany's military espionage and counterespionage organization, the *Abwehr*, was designated to carry out Hitler's command. The chief of the *Abwehr*, Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, in turn assigned the crash program to Colonel Erwin von Lahousen, director of the sabotage division. Lahousen selected Lieutenant Walter Kappe to recruit saboteurs for the mission to America. A specialist in American affairs, Kappe had lived in the United States from 1925 until 1937.

Kappe chose his recruits from the files of the

"Deutsches Ausland-Institut" [DAI]. The DAI collected information on foreign nations from German residents abroad and maintained extensive files on Germans who had lived in foreign countries and returned to live in the fatherland. The DAI was a logical place to find Germans who spoke English, had lived in America, and were familiar with American customs. Selecting eight candidates, Kappe had each investigated to insure his loyalty to the Nazi party and its cause.

Kappe code-named the mission to America "Pastorius" after Franz Daniel Pastorius, the leader of one of the first groups of German immigrants to land in the United States during the seventeenth century. The eight candidates for Operation Pastorius were sent to the *Abwehr* sabotage training school at Quenz Lake Farm, just outside of Brandenburg and forty miles west of Berlin. During several weeks of intensive training, the men learned how to handle high explosives and combine incendiary mixtures and ignite them; how to operate a variety of fuses, detonators, and primers; and the use of the *Abwehr's* most efficient electrical and mechanical timing devices. The men were drilled under realistic conditions on finding assigned targets, choosing and placing appropriate explosive or incendiary devices, setting the fuses, and escaping without detection.

The trainees were given fictional biographies and were drilled daily regarding their new identities. If questioned by U.S. authorities, they were to maintain that they had never left America. They were given forged Selective Service and Social Security cards and letters with American stamps and recent postmarks to support their claims. During their training the men spoke only English, and they sang American songs and read American magazines and newspapers.

Toward the end of the course, Kappe and his trainees toured canal systems and railroads around Berlin and

Recommended reading: They Came to Kill by Eugene Rachlis (Random House, 1961).



Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation watch as an associate probes a sand dune at Ponte Vedra, Florida, in June 1942. The men later uncovered four crates of explosives that had been cached there by saboteurs landed from a German submarine on June 17; a cache from a landing four days earlier had already been found near Amagansett, Long Island.

visited a number of Germany's major aluminum and magnesium plants to familiarize them with similar installations in the United States. The vulnerabilities of each type of site were pointed out, and the saboteurs were shown which key points were most susceptible to damage.

Because of the importance of the aluminum and magnesium industries to America's production of military airplanes, German intelligence experts selected three plants of the Aluminum Company of America in Tennessee, Illinois, and New York as primary targets for the sabotage mission. The Philadelphia Salt Company's cryolite plant in Philadelphia was also included because it provided materials essential to the production of aluminum.

Vulnerable spots along the routes of the Chesapeake and Ohio and Pennsylvania railroads, including the horseshoe curve at Altoona, Pennsylvania, were selected as additional objectives to disrupt the transport of coal. The Pennsylvania railroad terminal in Newark, New Jersey, was targeted because large quantities of raw materials and war products passed through it daily. Other targets included the Hell Gate Bridge over the

East River in New York City; locks and canals on the Ohio River between Cincinnati and St. Louis; and the water reservoirs of New York City. Beyond these specific goals, the group leaders were encouraged to select additional targets of opportunity. Kappe personally advocated a series of nuisance bombings around the country to undermine American morale.

Kappe divided the eight saboteurs into two teams. One, under the leadership of Georg Johann Dasch, would land on the coast of Long Island. The second, led by Edward Kerling, would land near Jacksonville, Florida.

AT THE AGE OF THIRTY-NINE, Georg Dasch was the oldest of the eight saboteurs. Dasch had spent nineteen years in the United States, longer than any of his companions. He had worked as a waiter and dishwasher in hotels and restaurants around the country, an occupation he found available but disappointing. "I was never satisfied," Dasch later said of his work in America. "I hated the tipping system and felt it was degrading." Disillusioned with life in America, Dasch returned to Germany in May 1941 and secured employment with the "Sonderdienst Seehaus," an agency that monitored foreign radio broadcasts. He felt his new position was more dignified and suited his talents better than waiting tables in America. "I did not suffer under the Nazis at all," Dasch said later: "In fact I was sitting pretty." Dasch listened to American news broadcasts until February 1942, when he was selected by Walter Kappe and transferred to the *Abwehr* for training as a



saboteur.

Edward Kerling's intense Nazi loyalty had led him to return to Germany when the war in Europe began. Thirty-three years of age, Kerling had spent eleven years in the United States, working primarily as a domestic servant and as a chauffeur. After returning to Germany in June 1940, Kerling, like Dasch, worked as a translator of English-language radio broadcasts. He went from there to a position in the Propaganda Ministry in Berlin. "I am here in Germany and doing my duty," Kerling wrote to a friend in America. "I haven't had one minute of regret . . . We sacrifice for a better future which Germany has deserved."

Kerling's opportunity for greater sacrifice came in March 1942 when Kappe interviewed him for the sabotage mission to the United States. "A secret military mission" was the way Kappe explained it, and Kerling agreed to what he thought would be a commando raid carried out by soldiers in uniform. "I couldn't say no," he said later. "It would look like I was a coward and tried to stay in a place where I could earn money while the others were fighting."

Each of the sabotage teams packed their equipment in four waterproof, steel-lined wooden crates. The boxes contained quantities of special explosives that looked like yellow bricks of modeling clay. Some of the "clay" had been shaped and colored to resemble lumps of coal. There was also a supply of fuses, detonators, timing devices, and incendiary bombs, the latter disguised as pen and pencil sets.

The saboteurs were provided with a large amount of American currency to cover expenses in the United States. Each group leader carried fifty thousand dollars as a general fund for buying additional sabotage materials and for travel, bribes, and other group expenses. Each individual was allotted nine thousand dollars, five thousand dollars of it held by the team leaders to be distributed as needed. Each of the men received an additional \$450 in small bills for immediate use.

The submarines carrying the saboteurs departed from the German naval base at Lorient, France. Because the voyage to Florida would take longer, Kerling's group left first on May 26, 1942, aboard the U-584. Dasch and his group left two days later on the U-202. The two teams arrived in the United States in the early mornings of June 17 and June 13, respectively.

The waters off America's Atlantic coast were a fiercely contested battleground during the spring of

Georg Dasch (top), a former waiter and dishwasher who had spent nineteen years in America before returning to Germany in 1941, was leader of a four-man team of saboteurs that landed on Long Island on June 13, 1942. What his Nazi commanders did not realize was that Dasch planned to betray the sabotage mission after reaching the United States. After teammate Ernest Burger (bottom) agreed to back him up, Dasch contacted the Federal Bureau of Investigation and was taken into custody on June 18.

1942. German submarines attacked American shipping, and American patrol ships searched for the marauding U-boats. Because battles raged only a few miles from shore, the U.S. Coast Guard maintained an extensive patrol on Atlantic beaches. Their sentries were trained to look for anything out of the ordinary.

COAST GUARDSMAN JOHN CULLEN left the Amagansett Coast Guard Station around midnight on June 13 to begin his six-mile patrol east. About a half-mile into his walk, Cullen encountered Georg Dasch and his three companions just as they were changing from their German uniforms into civilian clothes. [Although the men were not members of the military, they had been provided uniforms so that they might qualify for treatment as prisoners of war rather than as spies should they be captured during the critical landing phase.]

What's the trouble?" Cullen shouted.

Dasch walked away from his group to confront the Coast Guardsman.

"Who are you?" Cullen called, as Dasch approached.

"We're fishermen from Southampton. Our boat ran aground here," Dasch replied.

Cullen invited the men to spend the rest of the cold night at the Coast Guard station, but Dasch refused, saying that they had neither identification nor a fishing permit. When Cullen insisted, Dasch threatened to kill him.

"Do you have a father and a mother?" Dasch asked. "Well, I wouldn't want to have to kill you."

After threatening murder, Dasch abruptly changed tactics and offered Cullen a three-hundred-dollar bribe to "forget the whole thing." Not knowing how else to handle the immediate situation, Cullen accepted the money and was starting to leave when Dasch stopped him and gave him a phony name, "George John Davis," and, oddly, demanded that Cullen look closely at his face.

"Take a good look at me," Dasch ordered. "Look into my eyes. Would you recognize me if you saw me again?"

Cullen said no, and walked off into the fog.

After the patrolman left, Dasch and the other saboteurs—Ernest Peter Burger, thirty-five, Heinrich Heinck, thirty-four, and Richard Quirin, thirty-four—hastily buried their explosives on the beach. Then they walked inland to the Amagansett train station and caught the train to Manhattan, one hundred miles to the west.

Four days later, Kerling's group landed without incident at Ponte Vedra, Florida. After caching their explo-

Edward Kerling (right) was leader of the four-man team that landed near Jacksonville, Florida. Less than a week after his arrival, Kerling was arrested in New York as a result of information provided by Georg Dasch. By June 27, all eight saboteurs had been captured.





Carefully watched by army guards, saboteur Heinrich Heinck awaits the start of the third day of the military trial held for the Germans at the Justice Department in Washington, D.C., in July 1942. All eight defendants were found guilty of espionage and sentenced to death, but the penalties for turncoats Dasch and Burger were commuted to terms in prison.

sives in the sand, they traveled by bus to Jacksonville, where they separated. Herbert Hans Haupt, twenty-two, and Hermann Otto Neubauer, thirty-two, went to Chicago, and Edward Kerling and Werner Thiel, each thirty-five, traveled to New York by way of Cincinnati. Kerling and Dasch were scheduled to meet in Cincinnati on July 4 to compare progress and discuss plans. The eight men were to securely establish themselves in the country before beginning any sabotage activities.

JOHAN CULLEN RAN BACK to his station to report his confrontation with the men on the beach. He told his story to Carl Jeanette, Boatswain's Mate Second Class, who was in charge of the watch. Cullen, Jeanette, and three others immediately returned to search the area, but Dasch and his men were already gone. Cullen heard the diesel engine of the submarine offshore, and Chief Boatswain's Mate Warren Barnes, chief of the Amagansett station, saw the long, thin shape of the U-202 through the thinning fog, about 150 feet from the

beach. "[The engines] started with a roar," Barnes testified later, "and then became a steady diesel throb. The boat went in an easterly direction."

Around dawn, Cullen found a package of German cigarettes half-buried in the sand. Daylight helped the searchers find signs of recent digging in the dunes above the tide-line. Using only their bare hands, the sailors soon uncovered four wooden cases. Close by, they found a cache of German uniforms and other articles of clothing, including a navy cap with a swastika insignia. The Coast Guard immediately turned everything over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Federal agents investigating the incident had no doubts that the evidence they possessed signified an invasion attempt by Nazi saboteurs. They questioned residents of Amagansett in hopes that someone could corroborate the description of Dasch supplied by Cullen. It took several days before the Bureau was certain that the four saboteurs had left the area for New York City and the near-anonymity of its immense population.

WHEN THE LONG ISLAND SABOTEURS reached New York City, they stuck to their plan of separating into pairs. Two of the men, Richard Quirin and Heinrich Heinck, had worked together as machinists in a Volkswagen plant in Germany. Because they knew each other, they stayed together. Dasch and the fourth man, Ernest Burger, were thrown together out of neces-



Less than a week after they had been sentenced, six of the German saboteurs were executed. Here a cordon of soldiers keeps back spectators and newsmen as ambulances bearing the bodies of the men leave the Washington, D.C., jail.

sity rather than choice.

Burger was unique among the eight saboteurs. As an early member of the Nazi party, he had marched with Hitler in the ill-fated Munich “putsch” of 1923. He had been a member of the Nazi’s brown-shirted storm troopers and was attached to the staff of Ernest Roehm. He was also a naturalized American citizen.

Burger had escaped the purge of storm troopers in 1934 but was arrested and imprisoned by the Gestapo in 1940 for allegedly falsifying government documents. Because of his sixteen-month imprisonment, the other saboteurs distrusted him. But their suspicions were misplaced. Less than twenty-four hours after arriving in America, one of the saboteurs betrayed Operation Pastorius. But it was team leader Georg Dasch, not Burger, who was the turncoat.

Dasch made his first telephone call to the FBI on Sunday, June 14, identifying himself as “Franz Daniel Pastorius” and saying he had come to America from Germany with information he would give only to J. Edgar Hoover. The agent he spoke to gave Dasch little encouragement, probably thinking that this was just another of

the many crank calls regularly received by the FBI. Dasch said he would come to Washington, D.C., later in the week to deliver the information personally.

Dasch needed an accomplice, someone who would back up the story he wanted to tell the FBI, and Burger was his only available choice. Though Lieutenant Kappe had warned each of the men that death was the penalty for revealing information about their mission, the power of the now-distant *Abwehr* to carry out this punishment was small beside the certain death penalty they could expect from the United States government if convicted as saboteurs. Burger must have sensed that his personal survival depended on his support of Dasch’s betrayal, and he agreed to back up Dasch’s story.

Dasch arrived in Washington, D.C., on June 18. He made his second call to the FBI the following morning. By this time the Washington office was aware of Cullen’s report and the discovery of the explosives on the Amagansett beach. Agents went directly to Dasch’s room in the Mayflower Hotel and took him into custody.

Dasch was subjected to an intense period of interrogation. He freely described for the agents the saboteurs’ recruitment and training, their submarine voyage, and their sabotage objectives in the United States. Dasch not only exposed the men in his own group but surprised the FBI with information about Kerling’s group and their landing in Florida.

A week after they arrived in the United States, all of the men who had landed at Amagansett Beach were in the hands of the FBI. The roundup of Kerling's group took longer, primarily because Dasch did not know the exact time of the Florida landing, nor where Kerling would send his team members. But with the help of Ernest Burger and a handkerchief supplied by Dasch, containing the names of the saboteurs' American contacts in invisible ink, federal agents soon were able to locate the remaining four Germans. Kerling and his partner, Werner Thiel, a trained machinist, were arrested in New York on June 23. Herbert Haupt, an optician's apprentice, and Hermann Neubauer, a cook, were arrested in Chicago on June 27.

Dasch told the FBI that he was an anti-Nazi. He expected congratulations and rewards for betraying the sabotage mission. He envisioned himself a double-agent working with the authorities, aiding in the arrests of enemy saboteurs, and ultimately receiving praise as an American hero. It was not to be.

The FBI chose not to accept Dasch's story of his deep-rooted antipathy for the Nazis, nor his claim that he had planned from the beginning to betray the sabotage mission. Instead, its agents believed that Dasch had developed "cold feet" after being observed on the Amagansett beach by the Coast Guard shore patrol. Dasch was arrested and charged along with his seven companions. If convicted, each man could receive the death penalty under America's wartime regulations.

THE EIGHT SABOTEURS were tried by a military commission convened by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. His presidential proclamation read in part: "... the safety of the United States demands that all enemies who have entered the territory of the United States as part of an invasion or predatory incursion, or who have entered in order to commit sabotage, espionage, or other hostile or warlike acts, should be promptly tried in accordance with the law of war."

The U.S. government had maintained total secrecy regarding the landings by the saboteurs until all eight men were in custody, and it released little information regarding the subsequent trial, which began on July 8 at the Justice Department Building in Washington, D.C. Because the administration and the Justice Department were convinced that the death penalty could not be guaranteed by civil courts, the saboteurs were subjected to a military trial closed to the press and the public, and judged under the rules of court-martial for military personnel.

General Frank McCoy was appointed head of the seven-member military trial commission. The prosecution was led by Attorney General Francis Biddle and General Myron Cramer, the Army's judge advocate general. Colonel Carl Ristine defended Georg Dasch, and Colonels Casius Dowell and Kenneth Royall were appointed counsel for the other seven saboteurs.

Colonel Ristine's defense of Dasch was based on Dasch's voluntary confession and cooperation with the FBI.

Both Royall and Dowell stressed that their clients had committed no acts of sabotage, nor did they intend to carry out the mission entrusted to them by the *Abwehr*. Royall also questioned the validity of the military commission formed by President Roosevelt, which suspended the writ of habeas corpus and denied the eight men a trial by civil court. Royall maintained that the crimes the saboteurs were charged with were covered by civil statutes, and that the men were due a trial in civil court. That they were not being so tried, he said, effected a challenge to their civil rights and to the American Constitution.

Royall convinced the United States Supreme Court to convene in special session to receive requests for writs of habeas corpus, which, if granted, would place the saboteurs under the jurisdiction of the civil courts. It was Royall's argument that American justice and legal rights applied to the German saboteurs—agents of an enemy in time of war—as much as to any American citizen.

But Royall's petition was denied. He was unable to persuade the Court that the saboteurs were not an invading force, or that the coasts of Long Island and Florida were not zones of military operations. Justice Jackson observed that the submarines had invaded American waters, and that if the saboteurs had been shot while landing it would not have been considered murder. But Royall claimed that once the men had landed and mingled with the civilian population they were entitled access to the civil courts.

"Why are not these men all members of an invading force and subject to the law of war?" Justice Jackson asked.

"Because they do not admit they were an invading force, but only used this means to get out of Germany," Royall replied.

"They did not report to any authority and say thank God they were free from Germany," said Jackson.

"No," Royall conceded.

Justice Frankfurter asked, "Cannot the enemy determine the theater of operations? Suppose parachutists were to land in this building—wouldn't that make this a theater of operations?"

"Yes sir," Royall answered.

"Why didn't this landing create a theater of operations?"

"Because they came unarmed and did not engage in combat operations," said Royall.

"I am glad to know what 'unarmed' is," Frankfurter commented.

The Supreme Court unanimously decided that the crimes with which the saboteurs were charged were sufficient cause for the president to authorize their trial by military commission. The saboteurs had come with "hostile purpose" across the battleground of the Atlantic and the boundaries of America. The Court upheld the government's official statement of opposition to the request for writs of habeas corpus that stated in part: "Those whom the enemy sends to destroy our industries and lives and the very existence of the nation can hardly



Deported to Germany in 1948 after serving less than six years of his thirty-year sentence, Georg Dasch failed in subsequent attempts to gain permission to return to the United States, and though he wrote a book (Eight Spies Against America) in which he sought to justify his wartime actions as being courageously pro-American, he received little sympathy. Dasch also encountered bitter hostility from many fellow Germans, leaving him, in effect, a man without a country.

be in a position to claim constitutional rights, privileges, and immunities from the nation which they seek to destroy."

AFTER THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION, there was little doubt regarding the outcome of the trial. Faced with overwhelming evidence, combined with the testimony of Georg Dasch and Ernest Burger against them, the other six saboteurs were effectively without a defense.

The commission reached a verdict on August 3 and sent their recommendations to President Roosevelt, who decided the final verdict. The defendants were not allowed an appeal.

Just five days later, on August 8, 1942, Edward Kerling, Heinrich Heinck, Richard Quirin, Werner Thiel, Herbert Haupt, and Hermann Neubauer were executed

by electrocution in the Washington, D.C., jail. Only after their death did the nation learn of the military commission's findings and of President Roosevelt's verdict.

All eight of the saboteurs had been found guilty and sentenced to death, but the commission recommended a commutation of sentence for Georg Dasch and Ernest Burger because of their cooperation as government witnesses. Burger was sentenced to life imprisonment; Dasch to thirty years.

Operation Pastorius had failed, and in doing so, cost the *Abwehr* dearly. In the Third Reich, failure verged on treason. The *Abwehr* lost credibility with Hitler and was allowed no subsequent opportunity to engineer a sabotage project against the United States.

Georg Dasch and Ernest Burger served only a portion of their respective prison terms. In April 1948 President Harry S Truman commuted their sentences, and the two men were deported to Germany. By 1948, attitudes had changed. America was now involved in the Cold War and concerned over the containment of Soviet expansionism. In 1942, the eight saboteurs had been "the enemy." In 1948, Burger and Dasch were merely extra baggage left over from an incident that had lost much of its significance; they were briefly remembered only to be released, deported, and then again forgotten. ★

Joan Miller, who lives in Oregon, is a co-owner of and books editor for the Alcove Publishing Company.

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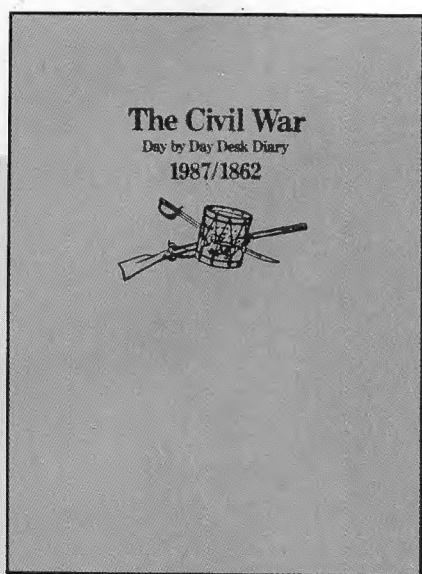
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